

SOCIOLOGY

— AND —

SOCIAL RESEARCH

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

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SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

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THE CONCEPTS OF BALANCE AND ORGANIZATION IN SOCIAL ECOLOGY

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I

THE CONCEPTION of the natural area or region, which plant and animal ecology has given us, has proved fruitful in the classification of social and cultural types.

Natural regions are found to be not merely geographical but also social and cultural entities. The social processes can therefore be best understood if we proceed with a preliminary ecological classification of social types. As biology received a great impetus after the systematic surveys of plant regions and faunal realms had commenced, so has sociology gained in realism and in the use of quantitative methods with the emphasis of certain fundamental social types and stages which are the outcome of the cumulative effects of environment and ecologic succession. As the natural area has become the unit of consideration in sociology, the explanation of social phenomena in terms of the spatial and temporal distribution of the activities of individuals derived from ecology, bids fair to widen the scope of concrete social measurement. Further, besides the importance of position, distribution and movements of individuals in space as explaining social processes and of

the spatial grouping and adaptation of individuals and social institutions to regional conditions and their mutual give and take within the limits of a natural region, the principle of balance of species living in the same region also forms a valuable contribution to the study of sociology.

Ecology has broken up the simple and undifferentiated homogeneity of the living environment and brought to the fore the interaction of the different species as well as stages of development of organisms.

In each natural region, ecology shows us, the life community has a unity and individuality of its own; each consists of diverse species which fit themselves to others for the common task of exploitation of resources by which the subsistence of each and all is assured. Different species of plants and animals thus form themselves by reciprocal adaptation into an organization, however unstable it may be, and the life-community undergoes evolution as a whole in a given habitat.¹ This idea of a balance of diverse species, though a temporary and shifting balance, has compelled recognition in all sciences of life, and the biology of human communities can no longer stand aloof from it. For human communities are an integral part of the organization of life in the region; man in whom life attains its greatest variety and intensity is the focus of activities which radiate out in linked chains to the minutest and most primitive of life's communities; while he himself is enchained by conditions and circumstances which serve, interpenetrate, and overreach him and his ends. In the swaying balance of the region, man and his works and institutions are equally implicated.

Social ecology thus emerges as a new and important division of sociology. Its task is threefold: first, to trace

¹ See Elton, *Animal Ecology and Evolution*, Ch. I; and Wells, Huxley and Wells, *The Science of Life*, Book VI, Ch. V.

the adaptations of interacting human beings and of inter-related human institutions to the region including in the latter term not merely climate, soil, and land form, but also plant and animal communities. Secondly, to investigate the spatial and food relations in which human beings and activities are organized in a natural area in terms of the *ensemble* of ecologic forces; and thirdly, to measure the balances and mutual pressures of human, along with other living and non-living communities, in the region and discover whether these prove favorable or unfavorable for man's dominance and permanence. In the natural region uninhabited or uninfluenced by man and his domesticated animals, the dominant plant-communities, which are pioneers in exploiting the environment, determine the character and succession of animal communities. In pristine conditions many large and small animals range over the largest plant communities, while others are confined to minor variation. All are intimately woven in with the plants and with many interdependencies of cross pollination, food, soil shifting, etc. Thus the geographic distribution of many of the plant and animal species which make up the assemblages are in general correspondence. Mammals and birds usually are most important in biotic communities even where considerable changes have taken place in the region. Then follow in the order of their importance insects, lower land vertebrates (chiefly reptiles), and lower invertebrates. Professor Shelford remarks, "From the standpoint of ecology, it is not correct to refer to this as the age of insects, for it is in reality the age of mammals and birds. Referring to man's conquest of nature, it becomes the age of man and insects. These are most important in secondary, especially agricultural communities."² In an agricultural region where man has lived

² V. L. Shelford, "Some Concepts of Bio-ecology," *Ecology*, Vol. XII, July, 1931.

for centuries and reared his flocks and herds, Nature's climax is thus altogether supplanted, and we have dense and even unnatural agglomerations of new plants (crops), animals (live stock), and insects and bacteria side by side with the massing of men over great stretches of land. The region, man-made as it is, often slackens the vital circulation due to man's conscious or unconscious interferences with the slow and subtly interwoven processes of Nature. Thus the forest communities increase the equability of temperature and make not only the climate but also the region more favorable for men by preventing flood and drought, conserving the subterranean reservoir of water, and enriching the soil by the accumulation of humus. The unchecked destruction of forests as human settlement progresses, proves detrimental not only to many large and small animals but also to agriculture and conditions of artificial irrigation, in short to man's permanent economic prosperity. As a matter of fact, in ancient areas of human settlement, man, like a spendthrift, always draws upon Nature's reserves of capital and energy without replenishing these for the future. Unchecked in numbers by natural enemies, which keep down the numbers of animals to a normal level in an overstocked region, man multiplies beyond what the ecologic balance and rhythm of the region permit.

With the continuous multiplication of population, his intensive agriculture spreads far and wide, the trees and grasses being replaced by a variety of food plants massed together both in time and place. As he eats or removes crops from the land in quick succession without replacing its mineral constituents, the land is impoverished; while his encroachment on grasslands and forests and drain on the subsoil water reservoirs upset the vegetative and hydrographic balances of the region. The soil gradually de-

creases in its water holding capacity, food and shelter become dearer for animals, while an alternate sequence of disastrous floods and droughts or a gradual desiccation may also follow. In the succession of living communities in the region we find that the types become progressively richer and higher and make greater and greater demands upon it. But when we reach man his manifold and specialized exploitation knows no bounds. Man continually strips the region of trees and grasses, fertility and moisture, thereby making the lives of later generations ever more strenuous and precarious.

As he congregates in mass and forms crowded rural settlements and cities, he also gives an open invitation to insects and parasites which bring about plagues and epidemics on a scale unknown to primitive society. Insects destroy not merely man but also his food and materials. The mere massing together of a particular kind of crop and domesticated animal contributes to the multiplication of pests and the spread of various animal and plant diseases, unknown to backward agriculture. Defective soil aeration due to constant tillage of surface layers necessary for feeding a multiplying population gives new facilities for the fungi which damage crops, and creates dead alkali lands on which crops cannot grow. An onslaught of herds and flocks continued for generations cannot but lead to the deterioration of vegetation thereby facilitating the rapid denudation of soil which has taken long ages to build up. Field erosion continued for a long time creates wild sterile ravine lands with yawning gullies and fissures and makes even fertile valleys deserts. With the increase of run-off of water and erosion the fertility of soil decreases both in the hills and in valleys, while the streams become broader, shift more and become more torrential with greater erosive and carrying power. River floods thus

become more frequent and destroy crops and human settlements.³

Not merely are the fertility of land, and the constructions and devices of man washed into streams and rivers but the waters themselves full of mineral matter obtained from the soil cap of the mountains and richer valleys become detrimental to agriculture. Fisheries similarly decline due to the destruction of forests as the ashes resulting from forest fires kill fishes in the rivers that drain such denuded areas. In the lower valley the silting up of rivers deprives the country of the red water it formerly used to receive. The cessation of flood irrigation and natural drainage leads to the decline of agriculture and spread of malaria, which slowly but progressively devitalises the human community. Thus a once fertile and productive land is exhausted and can maintain only anæmic crops, cattle, and men; its water-channels choked with weeds, its ancient house sites covered with jungle and its thick population stricken down with disease. The forest now reasserts itself in the full tide of its natural increase where once prosperous cities, villages, and fields flourished.

The region which may have favored the early growth of civilization by offering man the largest free gifts, now becomes niggardly and frowns upon him. The progression of inhabitants in the region, one set of plant and animal community following another in regular sequence, receives a setback as man dominates and persists in a one-sided exploitation; and in fact man's unthought-of chains of disturbance bring both himself and his region to common ruin. Of all animals man has not planned his effort and food supply as a species on a continuing basis, and the appellation of *Homo Stultus* is nowhere more applicable than in rich regions laid waste after a few generations of his

³ Mukerjee, *The Rural Economy of India*.

brilliant and wasteful achievement, civilization. The return of the forest which would now represent the stable climax of the region marks the complete failure of man on the land.

It is the meticulous study of a definite natural region which alone can bring out the subtle and multifarious connection between human efforts and numbers and the exigencies of the region and thereby help towards making social ecology a science.

II

Most living organisms form themselves into associations, colonies, or communities. In fact the economic activity of multitudes of dissimilar living creatures in a region, each living in amity with some of its neighbors, in competition with others may be expressed in terms of their individual numbers which in the case of the human community we call density of population. Social ecology is thus the comprehensive science of the balance of the human species in a natural area studying the physical and biotic factors which affect the pressure and distribution of diverse species of plant and animal (including human) associations. Social ecology recognizes four fundamental ecological processes: distribution, invasion, succession, mutual accommodation in the ecological complex. The geographers have been for a long time studying the physical factors which govern the distribution of population on the world's map. The economists have added to these an investigation of the causes of the localization of large scale industries and the effect of modern forms of transportation and communication as well as emigration as governing the concentration of population in special regions and zones. The social ecologists have now come to study the social

composition and characteristics of population in different zones of human settlement. Thus the difference in sex and age groups, one of the most significant indexes of social life, in the zones of human concentration and dispersal is now being investigated with reference to various social phenomena. As between villages and cities there is striking difference everywhere in age and sex distribution. As a rule the percentage of adults and immigrants is much higher for cities than for rural districts or for the country as a whole. Again cities contain a mobile, floating population, and exhibit a striking disparity of the proportions between the sexes. The economic and commercial factors which lead to industrial specialization also tend to create single sex regions and cities. The coal and heavy industry cities and regions show a striking excess of males over females. Similarly textile cities and regions and certain plantations have an excess of females over males. In great cities the divergence in manners, in standards of living and in general outlook of life in different urban areas has been carefully studied by Park, Burgess and others. Every typical urban area is likely to contain a characteristic selection of the community as a whole representing distinctive social habits and standards. Thus through the processes of social selection and segregation of the population, each natural area whether a region or a distinct urban area in a great city becomes the habitat of a natural social group. Backwood clearings, and lumber camps, mining settlements and plantations contain a characteristic selection of the population of the country as a whole. Thus there are regions in the country where the pioneer woodsman, the squatter, the immigrant and the *coolie* dominate; in ancient village settlements the number of old persons and of women and children is relatively high; in the frontiers of cultivation there is striking preponderance of men and

the families are nomadic and disorganized. Each such region develops characteristic traits and attitudes of the social group. The mobility, the irresponsibility and shiftlessness of the coolie and the cottier may be contrasted with the stay at home habit and attachment to the farm and the homestead of the peasant in the village community. There are regions where the collective management of irrigation and a crop of collective agricultural customs and usages favor social cohesiveness. Rice with its demands of collective management of water-courses and embankments and of participation of the young and old in field operations nourishes not only the teeming millions of the east but their characteristic village communal and patriarchal family organizations. There are agricultural tracts where a money-crop like jute or cotton which fluctuates in prices favors an intensive individualism, extravagance, and a speculative spirit which infect everybody from the small cultivator to the big wholesale merchant. The plantation with its rule of overseers and the approximation to factory methods is associated with a steady unremitting drudgery which is in striking contrast with the seasonal fluctuations of labor, wealth, and social activities associated with arable farming. Monsoon agriculture in particular is characterized by a well marked division of the agricultural seasons and the seasonal cycle of social activities. Both the routine of agriculture and the social activities and attitudes are modified where well and canal irrigation secure the peasants relative freedom from the alternate periods of hyper-activity and idleness imposed by the cycle of the seasons.

It is in this manner that the isolation or aggregation of the rural settlement in the jungle and the marsh or in the closely packed river valleys, the seasonal routine of agriculture as imposed by nature or as modified by

man, the kind of cropping or the particular combination of plant and animal industries or, again, the conditions of proprietorship and tenancy in a given area—all these largely govern the attitudes, social activities, and inter-related institutions of social groups. On the other hand, social selection would tend to favor social attitudes and institutions most suitable for the exploitation of natural resources and increase of human numbers. Thus along with crops and agricultural practices, social attitudes and institutions invade new appropriate areas—leading to a more favorable adjustment of spatial and social relationships. Through a gradual adaptation of spatial, economic, and social relations man ultimately finds a balance, however temporary it might be, with the entire range of ecological forces.

In plant communities we find one or a series of invasions taking place culminating in a particular type of climax vegetation in the area. The middle stages of a sere often show the most active phases in the competition of different species for dominance. Ultimately the climax dominates, enters and gains victory over competing forms. In a similar manner heavier yielding crop varieties and superior agricultural practices attain dominance and a higher cultural group displaces a lower one. In eroded and colluvial soils of mountain regions and the ravine tracts of the valleys exposed to continuous grazing and browsing of domestic animals we have a retrogressive succession of vegetation. Such deterioration of vegetation initiates also a new economic cycle in a deterioration of agriculture, a change from intensive farming to cattle grazing, and general social stagnation due to increase of rural distances caused by fissures and gulleys in eroded areas. There is ultimately a deterioration of the population type corresponding to the vegetative retrogression. All

this indicates the significance of the factors maintaining a relative spatial balance in which the fall in the subsoil water-level, the appearance of thorny xerophytic plants, the disappearance of the larger animals and the decay of agriculture and rural life are equally implicated.

On the other hand, it is the component parts of climax vegetable associations, which indicate the agricultural possibilities of regions as yet untouched by the human hand. Even such a weed as the prickly pear cactus, whose spread over large areas is regarded as a veritable curse, gradually prepares the soil for secondary series, and the beginnings of dry farming. Man's first clearings in the jungle as well as his skilled and selective farming in fact have utilized the plant-indicators, which are, so to speak, Nature's signals of crop-improvement. But for fuel and timber, for raw materials of industries, and for rapid and continuous raising of one crop, man often has played wholesale havoc with vegetation, deforested vast areas, and ignored and needlessly destroyed the established linkages of the vegetable environment. It is because of man's deliberate and willful exploitation of the environment that the bio-economic balance of the region is apt to be easily upset. Man is relatively free from the mechanisms of control which regulate numbers among animal associations. Thus the increase of human population often narrows the structural base within which the ecological processes operate to the detriment of man and his civilization. Indeed, this makes the process of mutual accommodation in the ecological community the most important consideration in human as distinguished from plant and animal ecology. What J. B. S. Haldane discussing the future of biology has observed is no biological imagination: "One gets the very strong impression that from the quantitative study of animal and plant associations some laws of a very unsuspected and

fundamental character are emerging; laws of which much that we know of human history and economics only constitute special and rather complicated cases. When we can see human history and sociology against a background of such simpler phenomena, it is hard to doubt that we shall understand ourselves and one another more closely."⁴

When man comes on the scene and enters into competition with societies of plants and animals the existing regional balance, to be sure, is modified and controlled to suit his special and growing requirements. In the first place, man frees himself from the natural laws which govern reproduction in the subhuman world. His rate of growth is no longer determined by the chains of eating and being eaten from inside and outside which enmesh the lower animals. Man's numbers are less determined by the climatic factors of his environment and his natural enemies including parasites and food and more by factors which are assimilated into what we call the standard of living. Secondly, man selects certain plants and animals for encouragement and destruction with a view to converting the shifting balance of the region in favor of his own multiplication. Even bacteria are brought to man's aid as in the case of soil recoupment by growth of legumes and by use of organic manure while the biological control of pests and eradication of many diseases are based on the recognition of the web of life or the interrelation of living creatures. Thirdly, man imports values into the balance of the region. His traffic with the environment bears an indelible impress of his conscious strivings and aspirations. Thus social ecology though an extension of the science of life communities, is yet distinctive in its outlook. Lastly, social ecology deals with a dynamic and purposive organization of life-community. The human habitat is not static

⁴ J. B. S. Haldane, *Possible Worlds*, p. 142.

but dynamic because of the unique development of social communication and tradition. But all the same, man like other animals sees and finds an optimum density, which escapes both the danger of destruction through chance emergencies and the equally disastrous results of overcrowding and overeating the food supply. The desirable or most advantageous density of population is conceived in a different manner by man, but there are reasons to suppose that when the human population fluctuates in numbers, there are certain safeguards found in common with most animal communities which prevent ecological disaster. This, however, holds good only in the case of those human communities which by multiplication and absence of migration, have reached almost the ultimate stage of exploitation of the natural resources of their region.

For man is naturally a slow breeding animal and his standard of living as contrasted with the standard of subsistence ensures a low fertility. But both the vagaries of man's chemical and physical surroundings and of social traditions may emphasize his fecundity disturbing the rhythm of the region and the composition of its diverse species or communities. By indiscriminate multiplication unconsciously encouraged by social suggestion and culture and conservatism which attaches him to the land and the homestead, man who has separated himself from the brute creation once again is dragged down. An unrelenting economic pressure brings about a close adjustment of his economic habits and practices to climate, food, and resources; he becomes like the animal a creature of the region, limited by the iron laws of a physical and chemical environment and the elastic but often more complex and fateful laws of his biotic environment (Elton). Under such circumstances, brought about by factors in man's social environment rather than heredity, man thus once more

shows a dependence upon the ecologic laws which govern the numbers among species of plant and animal associations and the population problem reverts to an ecological problem. Sunlight, temperature, humidity, rainfall, and soil govern through agriculture and food-supply and the population balance and density. When these latter depart too far from the optimum balance and density, the same ecologic agencies of epidemic, famine, and decrease of vitality which reduce numbers in the animal community, come to operate. It is through the operation of the internal and external ecologic factors that the human community is enabled to adjust itself to the fluctuation of circumstances. Each such adjustment accompanies a change in the spatial distribution and movement of individuals, their spatial and food relations and the spatial adaptation of social relations and institutions, society assuming that pattern which can react upon the region with the maximum of energies left over after the solution of its inner conflicts, and adjustments. The organization of life in the region, including society, thus acts as a whole; and, indeed, both life and the region, equally growing and fluent, cannot be regarded as separate factors, but have a unity in a specific normal pattern which is actively maintained through linkages, organic and human, binding the Kingdom of Nature in all its parts with the Kingdom of Man in all its extensions.

THE ESSENTIAL ASPECTS OF PROPAGANDA

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FOR THE PAST seven or eight years, as one feature of what I like to think of as a systematic study, I have been collecting so-called definitions of propaganda. From the vast mass of literature examined I have gleaned some thirty odd statements and descriptions which have been put into circulation as more or less finished thumb-nail sketches. Undoubtedly I have not found all of the definitions that are current, but to mention such numbers is to point out at once that these definers do not agree; and the disagreements are often wide, some of them are fundamental, and all of them are most confusing. It would be very comforting if we had all of the essentials of propaganda compressed into a sentence or two acceptable to everybody and used with the same meaning. For one thing this would enable students of the subject to start where other investigators leave off, stand on each others' shoulders, so to speak, and not begin always at the bottom. And we cannot, as one lady advised another, "take this trouble philosophically, and not think about it." We shall have to work away at the meaning until we work ourselves around into some kind of agreement so that we shall all know what each is talking about when he uses the term.

But while there is wide disagreement among the definers, as has been indicated, there is also an amount of agreement; there seems to be something of a drift in understanding—especially since the World War. Before that unfortunate time the term had no such popularity as

it now has and it had a rather precise meaning, namely, the spreading of religious doctrines by the church. But since the War many new meanings have crept in, more ground has been covered and, like other similar covering terms, it may be that breadth has been gained at the expense of depth; to many people propaganda has come to mean so much that it does not mean anything; when everything is propaganda nothing is propaganda. Yet, as has been suggested, there is a discernible drift in understanding. This was well expressed by Agnes Repplier when she spoke of it as "a good word gone wrong." As for myself, I am not so sure that it was ever going right; but let that pass for the moment. It is now evident, from the definitions already collected and the writings from which they have been gathered, that most users of the term regard it as connoting a more or less pernicious influence among men; propaganda is a kind of cultural promotion which is against human welfare in one or more ways. And this being the trend, we have here a pointer towards an essential. In so far as current usage governs the process of defining, those users of the term who still think and speak of propaganda as "good," are separating themselves off into a minority. And they would better, as Walter Lippman suggests, find another term for what they mean. In other words, symbolic pressure which is widely regarded as wholesome and necessary is *not* propaganda. But so much for this aspect.

Propaganda, like other seed, requires a fertilizing soil. That soil is a public or a number of publics, and a public or publics possessing the necessary ingredients. Propaganda which does not succeed in managing some part of the public is as useless as seed strewn on barren rocks or money which won't buy anything. As seed or money is thinkable and picturable apart from the soil or purchas-

able goods, so propaganda apart from a public is thinkable. But who would bother to contrive it if nobody would accept it and react in the desired fashion? That is to say, if there were no manageable publics there would be no propaganda. Intrinsically, propaganda and recipient public are different; but functionally they are one. But what is the character of a propaganda-controlled public? Without going into detail we may sum up this character under the general head of gullibility; propaganda seed produces a luxuriant crop where the recipient public is like a sponge—absorbent and uncritical. Therefore, when one is listing the essential aspects of propaganda one must include the notion of gullible publics. Perhaps there is also a wide-spread craving for certainty.

We all know that there must be a sower of seed; and we can think of him as distinct from the seed—intrinsically; but again not functionally. Propaganda seed originates with people; it is contrived by people; it is spread by people. And what manner of creature is a propagandist? Well, he is a creature who is looking out for his own interests, either primarily or secondarily; he is looking out for the interests of the group he represents. This self-interest, however, does not make him a propagandist. What turns the ordinary person—who is always interested—into a propagandist is the fact that he tends to conceal his interest in some way. The people whom he tries to manage have their interests. They would not receive him with open arms if they saw clearly that his and their interests clashed; and there is no tragedy that can overtake a propagandist greater than to have his public turn away from him. Hence the concealment of the propagandist's interests or the attempt to identify them with those of the public.

What this means is that the propagandist, in order to gain his way with his public, must resort to artifice. And

among the innumerable artifices employed by propagandists we may simply note a certain shyness, an exceeding bashfulness, an unwillingness to have his own interests in the foreground and in the limelight. So he retires; he hides; he disguises himself in one or more ways; he takes the veil. One of the recently familiar forms of this "camouflage," as Viereck calls it, is the famous "White House Spokesman." Another is to remain secure behind the imposing name of an organization, i.e., to pretend to "speak for millions." Another is the "coming with authority"; and the immense subtlety of this interestedness is well expressed by Burns as follows: "The Brahmin, the mandarin, and the priest are exponents of tradition and advocates of authority; and even if they honestly believe that their status is delegated to them from another world, it is *their own authority* [*Italics mine*] which is maintained by their advocacy."¹ But—not to elaborate this thought further—it is amazing and disheartening, when we study into the matter, to find how many of the symbolic pressures that are playing on our lives all the time cannot be traced to their originators because of the various disguises employed. But here we have another essential aspect of propaganda—some form of retirement from direct public gaze on the part of the propagandist.

As the sower has a method or methods in his sowing, so does the propagandist person or organization; and this is an integral part of the artifice already mentioned. A very prominent feature of the method is suppression. The successful sower of seed tries to keep the ground clean for what he has to sow. The successful propagandist tries to prevent his public from being managed by preoccupying and contradictory pressures. Consequently he endeavors to suppress or censor out all such influences. Or, if his

¹ C. Desile Burns, *Modern Civilization on Trial*, p. 305.

public is already well in line he may refuse to sow any more seed. Withholding information is one of the well-known devices. During the World War the American people were worked upon, from many mysterious sources, to link them up with the Allied cause. Therefore, whatever the Allies did was said, by our omnipresent propagandists, to be good and whatever the enemy did was bad. The Germans executed the war nurse Edith Cavell, and that was execrable; and every American heard of it, and heard how execrable it was. But the French executed *two* war nurses. Did we hear of that and how execrable it was? We did not—until after it was all over. One of the favorite devices of the propagandists, then, is simply to keep out of the channels of human interchange whatever information they take to be unfavorable to their cause. Thus, their victims live on a partial intellectual diet.

Again, we may notice distortion. To suppress, of course, is to distort. But distortion covers more ground. From a wide survey of so-called propagandist literature, we gather that there are two main forms of this distortion—minimization and exaggeration. Minimization is the name of a movement which has its logical outcome in suppression; an event or an affair can so be toned down in size and importance that it just is not worth mentioning or noticing. On the other hand, exaggeration has its logical outcome in fabrication—which we shall note in a moment. What we mean to say is that the propagandist takes his material in hand and works it over to suit his needs, softening in one place, enlarging in another, until the picture which is finally evoked in the victim's mind is badly out of shape. "The truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," is never the propagandist's slogan. An apt illustration from the war propaganda will be remembered by many. Upon the desk of the British General Charteris came two

photographs from Germany. One showed the Germans hauling away their dead horses to the soap factory; and it had an appropriate title. The other showed the Germans carrying their dead soldiers back home for tender burial; and it also had an appropriate title. General Charteris *switched these titles*, and then sent the pictures to Chinese newspapers. Perhaps some of us are familiar enough with the ancestor worship of the Chinese people to imagine the revulsion against the Germans caused by these pictures; and this was a revulsion against a fiction, not a fact. Distortion is such a frequent artifice of the propagandist that we may properly speak of it as an essential aspect.

Once more, there is fabrication. The propagandist is often a creator of the non-existent as well as a suppressor of the existent. If there is no evidence, he manufactures it to suit his purposes. Thus, there are actually two forms here—fabrication of seed to suit the soil that he wishes to cultivate, and fabrication of the soil to suit the seed. The instances which might be brought in to show this are legion, instances in the political, industrial, religious, and educational realms of our social life, instances of myths and of outrageous lies. Of course, since it is most difficult to create anything utterly new, what we really have here is, for the most part, the exaggeration side of distortion.

A favorite method, also, is diversion. In one sense this is the obverse side of suppression. Propagandists frequently keep people from looking in certain directions, where they might see things and act in ways unfavorable to the propagandists, by entertaining spectacles of one kind and another. There is so much of this going on all about us all the time that examples will be handy for everyone. This is a very important aspect of propaganda; and it is complicated with all of the other methods mentioned.

Of course it is taken for granted here, and needs no comment, that every available means of reaching the people is

used—mechanical and artistic; the mails, the radio, the telegraph, the telephone, the printing press, vehicular service, and all the rest; also slogans, myths, legends, poetry, prose, drama, and whatnot.

Another prominent aspect, perhaps *the* essential aspect of propaganda, is the *content* disseminated. The study of fabrication, indeed, the study of all methods, leads to this. The definers already mentioned often speak of misinformation, of doctrines; and an examination of hundreds of accepted examples of propaganda material reveals the prominence of doctrines; if we remove the surface materials of given cases we usually come upon a doctrine or two. There is the Monroe Doctrine, the doctrine of natural rights, the doctrine of States' Rights, of rugged individualism, of divine right; there are hundreds and thousands of "isms." It is not entirely beside the mark to make indoctrination and propagandizing synonymous.

And what is the elemental, irreducible stuff, of a doctrine? It would seem that when a doctrine is analyzed we come upon a grand *conclusion* almost always. Doctrines and isms are resolvable into conclusions, and conclusions which have not been scientifically verified. Where is there any such scientific validity in the Monroe Doctrine, in the doctrine of natural rights, in the doctrine of souls, in any doctrine, as we have in certain limited areas in science? In all of these cases grand conclusions are advanced, spread, and driven home *as if* they were demonstrable truths, as if they were logical certainties. The promulgators of these conclusions take it for granted—and this is a sound position—that the absorbers of these conclusions are unable to test them, either as to their truth or falsity. But they can *act* upon them, use them as guides to behavior alright; and that is just what is wanted, as we shall point out later. And the propagandists care nothing for

the conclusions as such, for the doctrines as such, but only for the overt responses outlined in these conclusions. And let it be noted that this is just one reason why we call certain people propagandists. At any rate, here is an essential aspect of propaganda.

This brings us, however, to another important aspect of propaganda, namely, its results and consequences. This phase of the subject has not been given sufficient study as yet. We can make only a few tentative suggestions. Some of the definers make everything hang upon the interests involved; some make everything depend upon the underlying motives; some stress methods a great deal; much attention is given to the content by others. In a very real sense, however, everything hangs on the results or consequences. It may be suggested here that a propaganda enterprise which has no unfortunate results *is not* propaganda at all.

It may be objected, however, that propaganda and the results of it are two very different things. Intrinsically, yes; functionally, no. Let us have a hint from medicine. It is true that medicine and the cure it works are two different things—intrinsically. It is true that medicine is often a material substance. But it is also true that “medicine” is something that *cures disease*. And where is the emphasis in popular thinking? Do we ever speak of substances which have never been known to cure disease as medicine? We never do. Then the curative service it is which transforms the material substance into a medicine. Likewise, it is the peculiar character of the results which transforms a promotional campaign into propaganda. Propaganda is doctrines true enough; but it is doctrines which work out in the lives of the recipients certain consequences desirable to the propagandists. And what are these consequences?

The answer involves a comparison of education and propaganda. As things are now and have been for count-

less centuries there is little difference between these two types of pressure. From time immemorial education, informal and formal, has been indoctrination; and we have suggested the close identity of indoctrination and propaganda. But in recent times they have become decidedly distinct and different in the thinking and idealism of certain persons. Let us look first at what education may come to be. Education has some prospect of becoming training in intellectual capacity; it has some promise of showing people how to think for themselves; it has some hope of acquainting people with the techniques of research with respect to their own and others' problems. The newer notion says that all people must come to stand as much as possible on their own intellectual feet, render a full account of their own potentialities, express and expand their own talents. Of course no individual can take the time to engage in extensive research with respect to all of his own problems, even if he had the ability. Then, of course, he must rely on others. But the newer education will make him critical of others instead of gulping down from others indiscriminately. In other words, modern education hopes to liberate man's most distinguishing feature, crowning glory, and saving power—his intelligence; and then allow this intelligence to do its work in the world.

But this is precisely the thing that the propagandist does *not* want. The propagandist would have no work to do in such a world. He wants to serve always as a thinker and planner for others; he wants to usurp all of the training in thinking processes for himself; he wants the priceless privilege of having people swallow his conclusions and then act on them. And left to the tender mercies of the propagandists, the people would never learn to think for themselves and stand on their intellectual two feet; they would learn only to swallow. If babies were always car-

ried around where they want to go and never allowed to touch foot to the floor what would happen to their limbs? Does any one suppose that they would ever learn to walk? And here we come abreast of the fact that propaganda is a menace and why it is a menace. Propaganda-fed people, that is, conclusion-fed people, cease to grow intellectually, become stultified and atrophied intellectually. While their bodies may grow and toughen from strenuous exercise with the natural world, their minds remain infantile so far as native powers are concerned. If they behave as grown people it is because they behave *as* grown people—swallow their programs. The propagandist succeeds when he is permitted to do other peoples' thinking for them and arouse them to action in harmony with what he has thought out—or himself swallowed out of the past. Propaganda method, propaganda content, *is* propaganda when it works out in this manner.

I close with some wise words from Burns. He is explaining experimentalism—an "ism" to be sure, but certainly more justifiable than the authoritarianism with which he is contrasting it. "Experimentalism," he says, "implies that whatever truth, goodness, or beauty was achieved by the past was so achieved by methods which are easily available for use now. Thus to the modern mind the reason *why* [*Italics mine*] one believes is more important than *what* one believes, the conception one seeks to express is more important than the expression. *Science gives hypotheses, not conclusions*; and the arts are incitements to action, not satisfactions for repose. . . . Modern education is not a doctrine, it is an attitude."²

This would suggest that the propagandist, together with his methods and his message, is an anachronism, a part of the world of authoritarianism which is slowly passing.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 305.

THE GENIUS AS LEADER AND PERSON

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THE STUDY of the genius as an individual is the study of the factors which produce him, his incidence as compared with other types of individuals, and his resemblances to and differences from other individual types. The particular method of study is to apply to the individual called the genius all of the measures of traits that are available. For example, the intelligence quotient, height, weight, cephalic index, reaction time, Will-Temperament profile, general health, time of day of greatest efficiency, place of birth, climate of residence during the years of most important work, and a number of other factors have been included in various attempts to show what the genius is or is not as an individual among other individuals.

The classical studies of genius by such men as Galton, Lombroso, Ellis, Cattell, Odin, Clarke, De Candolle, Morel, and Wood, because they inadequately treated certain fundamental social factors, are not entirely satisfactory. The error was not that they studied the factors of genius, in an attempt to show what factors are operative, but rather the error in each case was in concentrating on only a portion of the total factors. It seems from our present viewpoint that these pioneers were victims of the incomplete development of sociological theories of their day. Consequently, they were not able to make the systematic contribution that even yet has not been accomplished.

There is no valid objection to the careful study of the psychology of genius, of the function of the creative imagi-

nation, of "the power of artistic or philosophic synthesis," or of originality. These problems should be subjected to careful scientific investigation. However, it must be recognized that the psychological, or physico-chemical explanation of these processes or faculties will never explain why so few are "chosen" to attain eminence, why some with pronounced abilities are mute, and why many individuals without pronounced abilities attain great fame. The study of such problems is the province of the social psychology of the genius, which studies the genius as a leader and as a person.

THE STUDY OF THE GENIUS AS A LEADER

It is a significant fact that the classic studies of the genius and of the great man have been studies of leaders, men possessing what Galton called "eminence." This statement is true, despite the fact that by a study of eminent men factors producing men of genius were then isolated, such as heredity, education, opportunity, and mental energy. The validity and value of this method of studying the factors producing genius cannot be seriously questioned, but it is nevertheless true that a great part of the arguments concerning heredity and environment, health, mental balance, and mental energy are beside the chief point, which is the attaining and maintaining of a position of eminence.

While all of the studies of genius have striven to break this closed circle of causation they have been only in part successful. And they have deservedly fallen short of their goal. For the factors that produce eminence, and the process of the rising of the individual to eminence are of the essence of the great men included in the studies. Cooley's organic conception of sociology supports argu-

ments of the present day sociology against simplistic explanations, which seem to be the logical conclusions of many studies of individual differences.¹ This conception is briefly that adequate explanations are by a totality of the conditions. This "total situation" explanation is precisely what is meant by explaining eminence on the basis of the factors of leadership and prestige which are inclusive of eminence.

For the sociologist the genius must always be either the leader or the man who contributes new ideas to culture. There is no social significance in the "creative individuals" who never become recognized as movers of social life. In a consideration of the two types of geniuses recognized by the sociologist, the common factor is leadership. No man can attain to eminence, as an important social figure, even as a critic or opponent of the social order, without the strength given by a following. Or, to make the same statement in other terms, no man can attain to the rank of a genius in the sociological sense without having the qualities of leadership demanded by the situation.

Likewise, the necessary qualification for the induction of a new idea, either in the mentalistic form of a language-response (abstraction), or in the materialistic form of an artifact or an institution, is leadership. The addition to culture invariably is brought about by the originator of the idea, some supporter of the idea, or both, leading a group of energetic men in the promulgation of the idea until the culture has taken on the innovation. A glance at the formation of a religion will illustrate the principles involved, although the genesis of a new art form, a new philosophical theory, or a new scientific hypothesis would serve quite as well. Jesus, according to the records of his

¹ Referred to by A. W. Small, "Fifty Years of Sociology in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 21 (1915-16), pp. 811-14.

disciples, and even of contemporary writers, appears to us as an individual with much personal magnetism, and with a strength of purpose that impressed his small band of disciples. The assurance of his disciples in his presence testifies to his powers of leadership, and the power of his ideas was great enough to produce a missionary band that spread throughout the surrounding countryside when the Master was gone.

But the religion of this simple leader of small groups probably would have advanced more slowly had it not been for Paul who added his own powers of leadership to the original impetus of the individual he never saw. The flame of Paul's missionary spirit was the influence that consolidated the churches, which in turn produced the figures that called the attention of the people of Rome to the new religious doctrines.

In the realm of art no lasting movements of as great scope as those of religion can be found; yet the principles mentioned in connection with religion are quite as valid in both realms. A consideration of the behavior of those moderns who select a Rembrandt, a Rodin, a Bach, a Keats, a Goethe, or a Duncan as a dominating figure in art will indicate the qualities of leadership still found in those who are only known by their works or the accounts of contemporaries. In each case—and the same is true in all of the branches of cultural change—the manner of innovation and induction of the new culture object may be summed up in the statement that the genius is a leader who is a central point of activity from which his own powers for influencing those about him spread out, consummating the change.

THE LEADER AND THE GROUP

For further evidence of this, we may turn to a study of leadership in the small social group where the conditions

are simplified without being artificial. The lack of conflicting interests found in larger groups, and the self-sufficiency of the small group for its members clarify the principles of leadership. At the same time, the essentials of leadership are the same in all situations and in all groups, and the leader of the small group has as much of the social aspects of genius in him as the leader of any other sort of group.

The necessary constituent of the group is that it presents a unified front to the other portions of society in at least one item that is different from the ideas of other groups or of society as a whole. It is generally true that there are a number of traits, sometimes called collectively a trait-complex, that may be built around the central fact of the group. But the essentials are a number of individuals unified around one item that is personified by him who leads.

The unity of the group consists in the dynamic functional relationship between the individuals that constitute the group, as Simmel says in substance.² Further, the group is held to be "a unity because of this process or these processes of reciprocal influencing between the individuals." But what Simmel appears to overlook in this matter of group unity is the fact that some center of activity is needed to focus the activity of the individuals in the group. The center of activity is invariably the leader of the group, who is himself intensely active with regard to the particular idea, or idea-complex of the group. In fact, so necessary is the leader to the existence of the group that his presence is synonymous with group activity.

What actually happens in almost all group activities is that an idea or a complex of ideas, personified by a leader

² See N. J. Spykman, *The Social Theory of Georg Simmel* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), p. 27 for a statement of this principle.

who has the program of putting them into effect, becomes the focus of other individuals who agree with the leader or with the idea he personifies. The personality of the leader, his ideas, and the focusing of attention of the other individuals on the leader or his ideas are the factors sufficient to explain the group wherever it is found.

The leader varies in personal qualifications with the situation in which he is found. The type of group likewise varies with the general organization of society about it, so that the total situation of society, the relation of the group to the whole society, and the relation of the leader to the group must be included in the complete study of the leader. Leaders have in common in all situations determination, assurance of their own power or the rightness of their program, understanding of their followers, and the fact that leaders are considered ideal or superior men by other individuals.³ Outside of these universal principles of the genius he changes with the total situation.

Bartlett⁴ mentioned three types of leaders: (1) the "dominant," who maintains his authority mainly by virtue of personal capacity to impress his followers, (2) the "institutional," who maintains his authority mainly by virtue of the prestige of his position, and (3) the "persuasive," who maintains his authority mainly by virtue of his capacity to persuade and express his followers. Cowley emphasizes the "headman" and the "leader."⁵ The former is the individual who leads by prestige, while the latter type seems to be something like Bartlett's "dominant" type of leader.

Bartlett further declares that his three types of leader correspond to definite situations. The dominant leader

³ C. H. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, pp. 293-96.

⁴ F. C. Bartlett, "The Social Psychology of Leadership," *Jr. Nata. Inst. Indus. Psychol.*, Vol. 3 (1926), pp. 188-93.

⁵ W. H. Cowley, "Three Distinctions in the Study of Leaders," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. 23 (1928), pp. 144-157.

is the developer of society, but has little place now. The institutional type is the most numerous throughout all types of society. The persuasive leader comes to the front in higher levels of social organization. Particularly today do we see many leaders combining the dominant type and the persuasive type in the same individual. Cowley distinguishes the situations of his types in the same general way. The leader changes society, the headman is merely the head of a group that is established.

For our purposes these ideas are extremely suggestive. It can be seen at once that the study of the genius as a leader will probably be the study of the leaders who have developed society. The innovator will most likely be in this group of leaders. But at the same time any reference to the extensive lists of great men studied in the statistical investigations already referred to will show that these lists include many of the institutional and persuasive and headman type of leaders. It becomes apparent from this that the study of the genius as a leader should include a study of all types of leaders, their techniques, and the relationships they bear to the groups that follow them and to the society of their time and of later times.

The study of the genius as a leader must also take into account those individuals who seem to stand alone in their effect on society, working independently of a group. Individuals like Lucretius, Leonardo and Roger Bacon come to mind, as examples of men so far ahead of their own day as to seem to us to stand alone, without any group to support them. But such an idea of the great man is liable to error on at least two counts. In the first place, we do not know that these men were alone in their own day. But we do know they were important figures and were not wholly misunderstood by their contemporaries. A modern figure somewhat comparable is Einstein who is certainly the

leader of an esoteric group. Although they did not contribute to his theories by their followership, his fame rests on this followership.

Another point about these first mentioned creative thinkers is that a group (recognizing the ideas of the men as essentially correct) is now formed around their ideas. Such groups with nothing but impersonal and abstract centers of influence are nevertheless just as certainly groups as are those composed around living personalities. Further, any of the great geniuses must depend on such a means of leadership for their importance at any time after their death. There could be at one period scarcely more than a score of geniuses in existence, if this leadership of ideas were to be discarded.

In spite of the fact that the genius is a leader in the sense that he is the focus of a group of individuals—even though he never may see these individuals, nor they him, in any way but in the form of the ideas he means to them—we really have here a distinction between the genius and the types of leaders who are not classed with men of genius. In order to endure as a great man, the type of leadership of impersonal ideas is necessary. The personal type of leadership may have originally given the genius eminence, but his contribution of ideas, and the acceptance of the ideas by others, in short, the leadership of ideas, will in the end determine the importance of the individual's place in history.

While it is to some extent true that recognized geniuses have been able to exert their influence without recourse to the more physical qualifications of domination, yet we know of no case where an individual genius has lacked these three attributes: (1) a program to execute, (2) confidence in his own ability or in the assurance of the rightness of his views, and (3) enough followers to have his

work recorded by contemporaries, as well as held up as a model by some individuals of later eras. This latter fact assumes added significance in a discussion of men who lived at a time when books were an inefficient means of perpetuating ideas, and who had to be remembered in large part by the objective results of their endeavor.

THE STUDY OF THE GENIUS AS A PERSON

Underlying the various conceptions of personality held by the psychologists is the theory of personality as a unity composed of a complex interrelation of traits in an individual who exists in a world of social interaction.⁶ In the same way, the less objective conceptions of the psychoanalysts may be subsumed under the same statement. In this sense, the genius also is one type of person, partaking of the principle of manifold traits, organized into a complex, and occurring in a social situation.

However, sociologists have called attention to the paramount importance of the social factors in the understanding of personality. The social relations of the individual are held to be the essential unifying factors of the individual, and his social relationships are considered to be the significant differentiating factors that distinguish his personality from the individual of a level not quite social. The social factors are the ones most often overlooked in the psychological studies of the traits making up genius; but these factors are precisely those which enable us to understand the genius as a leader, and therefore, as a contributor to the life of society.

The study of the genius as a leader is in reality the study of the individual with the status and the role of the leader. Status indicates the individual's rank, and role the part he

⁶ L. L. Bernard, *An Introduction to Social Psychology* (New York: Holt, 1926), p. 255.

plays. These two measures of the individual's relationships to society and to the social group are called by Park and Burgess the differentiating marks of the person.⁷

The study of the genius as an individual organism playing a role and having a certain status means that the relationships of the genius with his own group, and with individuals outside of this group, together with the relations of the genius with other groups as a whole, and the relations of his own group with other groups should be considered. Only such a complete picture of the total and interrelated significances of the genius will give complete understanding of him. The ordinary leader does not influence other groups very much, and his own group does not become the focus of many other groups or individuals, but the genius is the type who does exercise influence on persons beyond his own group, and finally reaches into the lives of generations who never have known his individual nature.

THE GENIUS' CONCEPTION OF HIMSELF

Although methodologically we cannot be certain concerning the introspective life of the genius or the leader, each individual realizes the importance of the person's conception of his status and his role. Each individual can see in himself a difference between what he thinks of himself and what others signify by their behavior that they think of him. We have reason to suppose that this also is true of the genius, and that his tenacious pursuit of his program—the behavior that is often called “expression of will”—is but an expression of some conception of himself.

Of equal importance for a complete picture of the genius are his conceptions of his immediate and remote followers. Perhaps he feels interest in them, and compassion on them,

⁷ R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921), pp. 55, 70.

or disdain for them, or desire for their respect. Particularly interesting would be studies aimed at tracing the genetic development of conceptions of self and of others, and the relationships of such facts to the life work of the great man.

A development of the past fifteen years in the direction of a study of the genius' introspections concerning himself and others has been the group of psychoanalytic studies of historical persons begun originally by the Freudian school and reviewed recently by Fearing.⁸ His paper called especial attention to "inferiority feelings" and "rationalizations" as tools of explanation in these various studies, but mentions other varieties of conscious complexes as motivating forces of great men.

The conception of the role and status of the genius in the minds of others is fully as important as the genius' conception of his role and status. Just as leadership demands that the leader have a conception of himself and others, so the activity of the follower demands that he have some conceptions of the genius, some verbal reactions that may be similar to or different from his overt behavior. There may very probably be followers who themselves desire to lead, but who have motives for following another for a time. Likewise, the "right hand man," the "pawn," the "yes man", and "the man who does the dirty work," are not only important factors in the accomplishments of the great man, but their conceptions of the genius and of themselves must be taken into account.

OBJECTIVE MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF THE GENIUS

As a reaction against the rather uncontrolled speculation of the psychoanalyses of geniuses, Fearing, in the ar-

⁸ F. Fearing, "Studies of Historical Personalities," *Psychological Bulletin*, Vol. 24 (1927), pp. 521-39.

ticle mentioned above, pointed out that scientific caution is needed in studies of historical persons. He is here in agreement with Catlin, whom he quotes as saying that psychological science is too immature for more than hypotheses concerning subjective factors.⁹ In keeping with this position, Fearing advocates the use of such objective materials as letters, diaries, authenticated conversations, the literary and artistic outputs of the individual, and the accounts of intimates of the genius.

In addition to the study of historical geniuses by means of these materials, an important application of the principles of the study of documents and artistic productions is in the study of geniuses yet living. The peculiar value of such investigations should be the establishment of principles of agreement between their production and other factors of leadership and personality that cannot now be had with historical individuals. By way of emphasis on the collection of objective materials as data supplementary to subjective analyses, the accompanying outline has been constructed.

AN OUTLINE FOR THE STUDY OF THE GENIUS AS A LEADER AND AS A PERSON

- I. Situational Aspects of the Genius as a Leader
 1. The general stage of society
 - a. Formative
 - b. Institutionalized
 2. Position of the genius' group in society
 - a. Status of the group
 - b. Role of the group
 3. Extent of the genius' membership in groups
 4. Role and Status of the genius in his groups
 - a. Objective data
 - b. Subjective data
 5. Role and Status of the genius outside of his groups (including his historical personality)
 - a. Objective data
 - b. Subjective data

⁹ Fearing, *ibid.*, pp. 536-37.

II. Individual Traits of the Genius as a Leader

1. Type of leader
 - a. Dominant
 - b. Institutional
 - c. Persuasive
 - d. Leader by ideas which others carry on in his name
2. Leadership traits
 - a. Aggressiveness
 - b. Emotional stability
 - c. Finality of judgment
 - d. Intelligence of judgment
 - e. Self-confidence
 - f. Speed of decision
 - g. Suggestibility
 - h. Physical prowess
 - i. Sociability (pleasure in association)
 - j. Linguistic ability
 - k. Range of ideas
 - l. Ability to see all sides of a question
 - m. Inventiveness
 - n. Self-control
 - o. Concentration
 - p. Perseverance
 - q. Energy of action

III. The Study of the Genius as a Person

1. General character of the individual (stabilized or volatile)
2. Behavior pattern
 - a. Objective
 - b. Subjective
 - c. Psychopathic
3. Social Type
 - a. Conservative; slow to change
 - b. Liberal; rapidly changing
 - c. Idealistic; living in imagination
4. Conception of himself and of others
 - a. Conception of his role and status
 - b. Conception of the role and status of others
 - c. Conception of his interrelationships with others
 - d. Conception of others' conceptions of him
5. Philosophy of life
 - a. Expressed
 - b. Agreements of his expressed philosophy of life with his behavior.¹⁰

¹⁰ This outline is intended only to be suggestive. No attempt to include individual traits of body, thought, or temperament was made. These more physiological and psychological approaches are so much more fully developed than the sociological approaches to the study of genius that only the latter are given emphasis.

THE MOTION PICTURE VERSUS THE CHURCH

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THE URBAN adaptation of a social institution in the city may be measured by its ability to attract and hold a following among city dwellers. On this basis, the urban Protestant church and the motion picture theatre furnish an interesting comparison. And such a comparison is enlightening as a study of why certain institutions in city life are more popular than others.

In spite of the fact that the church and the movie are basically dissimilar in many ways, there are certain likenesses which cause a thoughtful student of city life to link them for study. Thus, both are community institutions, appealing to the voluntary support of their patrons; both center their activities in buildings which have beauty as an important requisite, and whose central attraction is a large auditorium with attention focalized on a platform at the front of the room; and finally, the audience is largely of the non-participating spectator type. The fact that one appeals to a religious clientele and the other to pleasure seekers need not obscure the fact that these institutions have definite similarities both in form and function. Frederick L. Collins has gone so far as to refer to the movie as "the new meeting house."¹

Perhaps the most basic contrast between these two institutions is that the church has an immediate *rural* heritage

¹ "Around the corner from what used to be the old meeting house is the motion picture theatre which is, for thousands and millions of people the new meeting house."—Frederick L. Collins, "Shall We Bury Our Dead Churches?" *Woman's Home Companion*, November, 1929, p. 21.

while the movie has a distinct *urban* heritage. The Protestant church took its roots in American life when the vast majority of Americans lived in rural areas.² For this reason it seems only natural that in its long formative period, rural folkways and mores, ceremonies and conventions have been deeply imbedded in the heritage of the church. The motion picture theatre, on the other hand, was scarcely known twenty-five years ago, so the "dead hand of the past" does not lie heavily upon it. Moreover, its birthplace was the city, and it has lived almost all of its life within the city.

As a result of their differing environments in their formative years, the church has developed into a *primary* group institution, while the movie has become a *secondary* group institution.³ The church, as a primary group institution, adopts such mottoes as "The Homelike Church," or "The Friendly Church." The minister tries to shake the hand of everyone present at a church service. The parishioners expect to have a pastoral visitation within their homes occasionally as a manifestation of an intimate personal relationship. Members want to know each other by the first name, and they visit conspicuously in the aisles both before and after worship services, often obstructing the efficient movement of the church's program. Church socials and "cottage prayer meetings" add to the development of the primary group life.

² To this day, the Protestant church retains its greatest strength in areas which are little affected by urban influences. In cities, the church's membership is made up largely of people with rural backgrounds. In a statistical study of this problem among the Disciples of Christ in Los Angeles, the writer found 438 members out of 581, or 75.3 per cent of a random sample had lived in a place of 2500 or less in population; 262 were converted in such a place; 273 were converted in a place of 2500 to 25,000 in population. Thus, a total of 535 out of 581 indicated this degree of ruralization.

³ See C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), pp. 23 f.

The movie, on the other hand, like other secondary group institutions, such as the newspaper and the radio, maintains a cold impersonal relationship with its patrons. No theatre manager greets his patrons at the door and enquires after their health. Instead, the patron's first contact with the movie is at the ticket-seller's window, and thence he is conducted swiftly and efficiently by a uniformed, impersonal usher into the congenial darkness which isolates one from all others and creates the anonymity so desired by the urbanite. The performance is continuous, so one may drop in and out at will, and the sumptuous lobbies and waiting rooms are practically deserted, in contrast to the noisy visiting found on the fringes of a worship service.

The church in the city is notoriously *inefficient* and *slow* of movement, while the movie is characterized by a high *efficiency* and *swift* movement. In the old rural economy, there was little demand for efficiency and speed. Everyone knew those with whom he came into business contact, and familiarity and sympathy excused many breaches of efficiency which, on a more impersonal plane, would not have been tolerated. Moreover, as movement in an inefficient rural culture was slow, so the traditional worship tempo is also slow. In the city, however, efficiency and swift movement are important new norms which are promoted easily in an impersonal, unsympathetic, highly competitive society.

Another important contrast is found in the different bases of appeal of the two institutions. The church appeals primarily to what Thomas would call the fundamental *wish for security*, which is aimed at conserving the values existent already in the heritage.⁴ Our swiftly moving society is not too friendly to this backward-looking appeal,

⁴ For a discussion of Thomas' famous four wishes, see R. E. Park and H. E. Miller, *Old World Traits Transplanted* (Harper's, 1921), pp. 27 f.

despite its venerable tradition. The movie, on the other hand, appeals primarily to the fundamental *wish for new experience*, as Thomas calls it. This more aggressive, forward-looking appeal is obviously more popular in the urban culture where institutions are new and little thought is given to tradition.

Again, while the main goal of the church is the development of a religious attitude toward life through the *worship* of God, the main goal of the movie is the perfection of a form of *entertainment*. The church aims to relax tense nerves, strengthen the will and steady the emotional controls of life, and to develop a large balanced view of life and plan of action. This goal is obviously basic in life in any culture, and though unpopular in city life at present, will doubtless come into more popularity as the city grows older and the technique of the church becomes more adaptive to city life. The movie, while, like the church, aiming to relax nervous tensions, also tends to stimulate the individual so he will obtain emotional thrills and satisfactions, and may live vicariously along lines often inhibited in real life.

Finally, one of the most revealing contrasts, from the viewpoint of one who would understand the differing degrees of success achieved by the two institutions, is furnished by the techniques employed by each. The church's technique is *traditional*, while the movie employs a *novel* technique. The church appeals to memories and shibboleths, to "Thus saith the Lord," and to the "Faith once and for all delivered unto the saints." Older themes are employed, usually selected from early Hebrew times, and timely applications are made. The mechanics of this application is found in the homily, the exhortation, ritual, ceremony, and congregational singing and chanting. The movie, on the other hand, leaves tradition conspicuously

out of its appeal and turns rather to the basic strong human desires: sex, romance, beauty, mastery, et cetera. The themes employed are timely, such as gangs, fads, war, flying, the vacation period, the stock market, travel, et cetera. The mechanics employed embrace the story, drama, artistically chosen and rendered music, colorful lighting effects, and more recently, carefully worked out talkie effects.

If one considered only the relative intrinsic value of the church and the movie as institutions of society, it would be hard to believe that the movie commands a stronger loyalty of the urbanite than does the church.⁵ The two principal reasons for this paradoxical situation seem to be (1) the present mood of the young sophisticated impersonalized efficiency-worshipping city where social change is so rapid that tradition can secure scarcely any status, and (2) the fact that the technique of the church is yet poorly adapted to the city's life. The low status of the urban church can be improved somewhat by a study of more urbanized social institutions such as the movie; but the high status which the church deserves in any society will perhaps never be achieved until the present rapid social change in urban society gives way to more stable influences which will permit the development of an urban tradition which then may be emotionalized by religious institutional development.

Chart I summarizes in graphic form, the main points of this discussion.

⁵ In Los Angeles, while the moving picture theatres sell approximately a million tickets per week, a careful survey in 1926 revealed 290,625 church members, Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant. Of this number, 142,625 were Protestants.

CHART I

CONTRAST OF THE CHURCH (WITH AN IMMEDIATE RURAL HERITAGE)
WITH THE MOVIE (WHICH ORIGINATED IN THE CITY, APPEALS TO
CITY PEOPLE, AND IS ADJUSTED TO CITY LIFE).

The Church

vs.

The Movie

A primary group institution.
Cf. handshaking, Motto: "The Homelike Church," visiting in aisle before and after church, pastoral visitation, home socials, et cetera.

Inefficiency and slow movement. Efficiency is not so important in the old economy: personal sympathy and familiarity did not urge its development; slow movement is rural tempo as well as traditional worship tempo.

Appeals primarily to the fundamental wish for *Security* (Conservative) which is not so popular in our modern swift-moving society. (Backward-looking)—trailing a long, venerable tradition.

Its main goal: *Worship* of God, relaxation, strengthening and steadying mental and emotional controls and developing large balanced view of life and plan of action. Though unpopular now, this goal is basic in life and could easily be made popular by use of a proper technique.

A secondary group institution.
Cf. impersonal, congenial darkness isolates from all others, creating anonymity so desired by urbanite. Continuous performance, no visiting in lobby as at church.

Efficiency and swift movement. These are important new norms created by urbanity, promoted easily in an impersonal, unsympathetic, highly competitive society.

Appeals primarily to the fundamental wish for *New Experience* (Aggressive) which is very popular in our modern swift-moving society. (Forward-looking)—a new institution with little or no tradition.

Its main goal: *Entertainment*, relaxation, stimulation to obtain mental and emotional thrills and satisfactions, vicarious experience along lines often inhibited in real life.

The Church

vs.

The Movie

Its technique is *Traditional*: appeals directly to memories, shibboleths, "Thus saith the Lord," "Faith of our Fathers," et cetera, *via* older themes, with timely application.

Mechanics: Homily, exhortation, ritual, congregational singing which is the envy and despair of the movie.

Its strongest points: *Concepts* of larger life, brotherhood of man, synthesis of experience, mysticism, sacredness and unity of life. Conserves culture heritage. Static.

Its technique is *Novel*: appeals directly to strong human desires: sex, romantic love, beauty, mastery, et cetera, *via* timely themes (gangs, fads, war, flying, et cetera).

Mechanics: The story, drama, artistically chosen and rendered music, colorful lighting effects and talkie effects.

Its strongest point: *Technique* adapted to the urban mind and fitting his needs, so far as methodology is concerned. Aids in creation of new culture. Dynamic.

CHURCHES AND WAR ATTITUDES

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IN THE psychological laboratory of the University of Chicago an attempt has been made to measure attitudes toward war by a new method. Students belonging to the various religious denominations were compared as to the degree of such attitudes. The experiment was performed by the writer and the results obtained seem to suggest that here we have a fairly reliable way of studying the relation of churches to war-attitudes.

For constructing the attitude test three hundred students attending the University of Chicago were used. Each was asked to classify 130 brief statements into eleven piles according to the degree of war-attitudes expressed in the statements. In pile one were to be put statements expressing the most extremely favorable attitude toward war, and in pile eleven were to be placed statements representing the most extremely unfavorable attitude toward war. In the intermediate piles were to be classified statements ranging in militarism between those two extremes.

Consequently 300 judgments were obtained for each statement. The median, or the middle judgment, was taken as the scale value of the statement, or an indication as to what pile or between what piles should the statement belong according to the majority of the judges. The variability or ambiguity of a statement was also measured by a statistical device. The scale values and the ambiguities of these statements were then examined and forty-four least ambiguous and most evenly distributed statements were selected to constitute the final scale. Two samples

of statements included in the scale are as follows: "Peace and war are both essential to progress," and "Civil and national differences can be settled without war."

The scale was given to one thousand students attending the University of Chicago. Each was asked to mark with a plus sign statements with which he agreed, and to mark with a minus sign statements with which he did not agree. If the student could not decide either way, he was requested to place a question mark in front of the statement. An average of scale values of all the statements marked plus was the score indicating the standing of the individual on the scale of attitudes toward war.

A number of questions were submitted to the same students asking for information regarding such items as the educational status of the student, his age, sex, and nationality. Among the questions asked was a question as to what church did the student belong. It was found that the great majority of the students taking the test was affiliated with one of the following churches alphabetically arranged: Baptist, Catholic, Christian Science, Congregational, Episcopalian, Jewish, Lutheran, Methodist, and Presbyterian. A tenth group consisted of students who were not willing to specify any particular denomination and stated merely that they were 'Protestants'.

The records of students belonging to the above churches were separated out and studied with respect to war-attitudes. An average degree of militarism was calculated for each of the ten churches, and tabulated in the Table, together with the number of cases in each group and the standard deviations (S.D.) indicating the extent of variation of attitudes in the corresponding groups. The churches are arranged according to the degree of militarism professed by each. The least militaristic churches are at the top and the most militaristic ones are at the bottom.

TABLE

<i>Churches</i>	<i>Cases</i>	<i>Average in Militarism</i>	<i>S.D. in Militarism</i>	<i>Average Ranks in Conservatism</i>	<i>Average Deviations of Ranks in Cons.</i>
'Protestants'	44	12.03	1.86	7.5	1.66
Jews	158	11.96	1.96	5.0	3.46
Chr. Scientists	27	11.92	1.68	8.0	1.90
Methodists	76	11.87	2.17	5.7	1.80
Baptists	44	11.70	1.93	4.7	1.77
Presbyterians	93	11.47	1.90	5.8	1.62
Episcopalians	32	11.33	1.94	4.8	1.70
Congregationalists	34	11.25	1.66	7.9	1.52
Catholics	78	11.17	1.76	1.6	.79
Lutherans	35	10.89	1.79	3.7	1.32

Evidently, the Catholics and the Lutherans are the most militaristic churches of all. The 'Protestants' and the Jews occupy the highest position indicating a stronger opposition to war than the other churches. Baptists and Presbyterians occupy about a medium position in attitudes toward war. The variations in attitudes do not seem to show very marked differences between the denominations. On the whole, the two churches most favorably inclined toward war seem to vary less in their attitudes than the two churches least favorable toward war.

In order to obtain some explanation for the above findings an additional experiment was performed. It was assumed that degree of conservatism as evidenced in the total religious life of the churches might have something to do with their views on the war method of solving international problems. To test this assumption the above churches were submitted to thirty competent judges for classification. Most of the judges were advanced graduate students in psychology who had a definite knowledge about each of the ten denominations.

The ten churches were typed on slips of paper one on each. The slips, arranged in random order, were then presented to each of the thirty judges. Each judge was asked to rank the churches on the basis of degree of conservatism expressed in the general religious life of the churches such as beliefs, rituals, and activities. Inasmuch as in every denomination are to be found both conservative and liberal members, the judge was instructed to take an estimated average of all the members as he knows them. The most conservative church was to be put at the top of the pile, and the least conservative one at the bottom of the pile, the others were to be arranged in order between these two extremes.

The rankings obtained from each judge were recorded in a table by numbers. Number one was given to the most conservative church placed on the top of the pile. The least conservative church placed on the bottom of the pile was given number ten. The others were given the intermediate numbers in order. As a result we obtained thirty rank numbers for each church. These rank numbers were added and the sum was divided by the number of judges. The resulting quotient gave us the average of rankings for that particular church. The same procedure was followed for all the ten groups, and the average ranks were recorded in the table.

In order to find to what extent do the conservatism rankings agree with the rankings in militarism a rank correlation was calculated between the two series. The correlation obtained between conservatism and militarism was .54.

The correlation of .54 is not a high correlation but sufficiently high to indicate that the more conservative churches tend to be more militaristic than the less conservative churches. Here is then found a partial explanation of why members of some churches are more favorable

to war than members of some other churches are. Conservatism in beliefs, rituals, and activities is partly responsible for a yielding attitude of some of the churches toward the most destructive institution in the world.

Another finding is worthy of notice. The thirty judges, of course, varied in their agreement or disagreement about the conservatism of the churches. The degree of disagreement about a church was expressed by the deviation of rankings from the average, or the average deviation. These average deviations are found in the last column of the table. Small numbers mean small disagreement, while large numbers indicate large disagreement. As readily seen, the judges agreed best as to how conservative the Catholics are, but they disagreed quite widely as to the conservatism of the Jews.

A correlation was calculated again between the rankings based on degree of disagreement about the conservatism of churches and rankings based on the degree of militarism of churches. It was found to be much higher than the previous one, being .78. This means that churches about which there is the closest agreement as to conservatism are at the same time the most militaristic of all. Churches about the conservatism of which there is the widest degree of disagreement, are the least favorable to war.

Degree of agreement about conservatism of churches indicates the range of conservatism or the attitude toward social change. This range of attitude toward social change may be narrow or it may be wide. One can readily see why it is that the range of attitude toward social change is very narrow in the case of the Roman Catholic church. The doctrines and rituals of this church are rather stable and are subject to almost no change. The range of the attitude of Jews toward social change is very wide partly because of the wide variety and adaptability of the Jews.

The range of agreement about the conservatism of the Congregationalists is rather small. Yet the Congregationalists are considered to be one of the most liberal churches. Evidently, the range of agreement about conservatism is partly independent from the degree of conservatism of a church. From this it follows that the greater range of liberals and conservatives there is in a church the more likely it is to be opposed to war. A church having a narrow range of either conservatives or liberals will tend to be, on the whole, satisfied with the old established institution of war.

The above findings can be summarized as follows:

1. Lutherans and Roman Catholics appear to be the most militaristic churches of the ten compared. The most pacifistic group are the 'Protestants' who did not specify any denomination. Among those who specified a Protestant denomination the most favorable to peace were the Christian Scientists and the Methodists.
2. The more conservative a church is the more militaristic it will tend to be, and the more liberal a church is the more pacifistic it will profess to be.
3. The greater range of conservatives and liberals there is in a church group the more likely it will become an enemy of war and a genuine ally of peace.

ATTITUDE DIFFERENCES OF CONTRASTING SOCIAL GROUPS

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Studies are being reported frequently on individual differences in attitudes toward subjects such as industrial relations, international relations, religion, and prohibition. One may go a step farther and determine how individuals of a given social group respond collectively. Different social groups may be compared to discover if differences in attitudes exist between groups as have been found between individuals.

This paper is a brief summary of an investigation into the mass attitudes of four rather contrasting sections of our city population.

The groups studied consisted of the following:

A. Juvenile prisoners ranging in age from sixteen to seventeen years old confined in the "Juvenile Tank" of the Los Angeles city jail.

B. Adult prisoners who are trustees confined in the "Adult Tank" at the Los Angeles city jail.

C. Policemen who are members of the Los Angeles city force.

D. "Superior adults" among whom are included directors of educational research, civil and electrical engineers, executives, university professors, high school teachers, elementary school counselors, elementary school principals, vocational advisers, and graduate students in education.

The prisoners were tested in their respective tanks. The policemen were tested in police civics classes held at widely

separated parts of the city, thereby making the sampling more representative. The superior adults for the most part took the test independently.

The questionnaire used was the Orientation Test which seeks to measure attitudes in the fields of Health, Education, Worthy Home Membership, Vocation, Civic Education, Worthy Use of Leisure, and Ethical Character.¹

This scale attempts to test Orientation with respect to an attitude of mind that abides by nothing but scientific verification.

When the Orientation Test is scored a percentile ranking and a rating are both secured. These measures are derived from results for individuals somewhat better than a typical group. The standards are based upon the performance of about one hundred teachers, mothers interested in the study of child welfare, clerical workers, and individuals holding responsible positions in the business world.

The comparisons which follow are in relation to the performance of the standardization group mentioned above.

TABLE I
AVERAGE RATING OF THE FOUR GROUPS

<i>Group</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Average percentile score</i>	<i>Average rating</i>
Juvenile prisoners	35	9.4	Very Inferior
Adult prisoners	13	13.6	Very Inferior
Policemen	44	21.2	Very Inferior
Superior adults	50	71.5	Superior

The 9.4 percentile rank of the juvenile prisoners places them at the bottom of the Very Inferior classification.

The adult prisoners with an average of 13.6 per cent were at about the middle of the Very Inferior group.

¹ Alfred S. Lewerenz, "The Orientation Test," *Los Angeles Educational Research Bulletin*. Vol. X, No. 7 (April, 1931), pp. 6-12.

The policemen ranked near the top of the Very Inferior group with an average of 21.2 per cent.

The superior adults, on the whole, were much better than the average of the standardization group, as their average of 71.5 per cent places them near the top of the Superior classification.

This difference in test response does not seem to be entirely influenced by intelligence but perhaps is caused more by early home training and education plus the ability to think objectively.

University training of itself is no safeguard against gullibility and superstition, as a number of highly educated people have been among those whose score was very low.

To discover the reasons for the differences noted between groups an analysis of individual test items was made on eight of the nineteen test pages. The material which follows consists of ten of the items in the section devoted to Ethical Character. The percentages given represent the number in each group who believe the accompanying statement to be absolutely true. A large per cent indicates a ready acceptance.

TABLE II

RESPONSE OF THE FOUR GROUPS ON TEN ITEMS

1. "One's character may be read from the lines in the hands."	
Juvenile prisoners.....	37%
Adult prisoners.....	15%
Policemen.....	7%
Superior adults.....	0%
2. "One should never fully trust a lawyer."	
Juvenile prisoners.....	60%
Adult prisoners.....	77%
Policemen.....	37%
Superior adults.....	2%

3. "An ugly face usually goes with a kind heart."

Juvenile prisoners.....	48%
Adult prisoners.....	31%
Policemen.....	7%
Superior adults.....	0%
4. "City men are morally worse than country men."

Juvenile prisoners.....	50%
Adult prisoners.....	15%
Policemen.....	17%
Superior adults.....	0%
5. "A man is untrustworthy who cannot look another man in the eye."

Juvenile prisoners.....	53%
Adult prisoners.....	23%
Policemen.....	32%
Superior adults.....	2%
6. "No sharp line of demarcation divides individuals of good and bad character."

Juvenile prisoners.....	27%
Adult prisoners.....	23%
Policemen.....	15%
Superior adults.....	80%
7. "One should endeavor to restore lost property to the rightful owner."

Juvenile prisoners.....	67%
Adult prisoners.....	77%
Policemen.....	93%
Superior adults.....	96%
8. "Suicide is never justified."

Juvenile prisoners.....	47%
Adult prisoners.....	54%
Policemen.....	72%
Superior adults.....	14%
9. "Punishment is a sure cure for crime."

Juvenile prisoners.....	47%
Adult prisoners.....	8%
Policemen.....	24%
Superior adults.....	0%

10. "Criminals are really sick and should be treated like sick persons."

Juvenile prisoners.....	40%
Adult prisoners.....	23%
Policemen.....	5%
Superior adults.....	42%

The deviations noted in the ten examples given above are typical of those found for all 475 of the Orientation Test statements. On the whole, the young prisoners are given to accepting adages (old saws, almanac sayings, etc.) of doubtful validity concerning moral conduct. The older prisoners have a weakness for nostrums (sure cures, favorite remedies, cure-alls, etc.). The policemen support a number of doubtful statements regarding personal rights, justice, and moral values.

The superior adults revealed the least gullibility. They did not accept as true the mass of superstitious fallacies, and half truths acknowledged by the other three groups. These latter were so well versed in misinformation that they showed great distrust of handsome men, lawyers, and men whom dogs dislike. On the other hand, large ears were regarded as a favorable omen of character.

It is interesting to note in the samples given how the policemen, as upholders of law and order, respond on the items dealing with right and wrong particularly items 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10.

On items 6 and 8 the differences between police and superior adults are indicative of their divergence in attitudes.

Using the superior adult group as a basis for comparison it appears that the policemen were four times as gullible, the adult prisoners five times, and the juvenile prisoners seven times as suggestible. Probably of significance is the fact that while there were policemen who did as well as the best of the superior adults, on the average, the police indicated a response more resembling that of the prisoners than that of the superior adults.

THE NEED FOR QUANTITATIVE TECHNICS IN SOCIOLOGY¹

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IT IS THE history of every science that it first began as a speculative philosophy, assumed a metaphysical cast, and then, under the pragmatic test of everyday living gradually emerged as tested and proven knowledge. It became a science (by which we mean organized and classified facts) only when man invented technics for the measurement, counting, and comparison of its phenomena. This necessitated the common acceptance of certain quantities of the phenomena as units and the application to them of mathematical formulae. Thus after units for the measurement of distance, time, weight, etc., had been invented and means found for their application to natural phenomena it was no longer necessary to speculate as to the distance to sun, moon, or stars or where the sky ended and heaven began. Within a reasonable degree of accuracy scientists could place the origin of the earth as prior to 4004 B.C. Before a science reaches this stage it is speculation, opinion, rationalization.

Sociology as the last of the great category of sciences to develop is just emerging from this stage of speculation and opinion and is developing quantitative technics by means of which its phenomena can be measured, and compared. As yet the field is an undeveloped one, and as in all new adventures, many crude attempts and foolish errors are being made. And there are many who hold that it cannot

¹ Abstract of a paper presented at the meeting of the Colorado-Wyoming Academy of Science, Boulder, Colo., Nov. 28-29, 1930.

be done. They insist that social phenomena are so variable and that the human factor with its freedom of choice makes conditions so uncertain that methods of measurement and quantitative technics can never be of scientific value. Obviously such opinion is due to a lack of understanding of the true nature of social phenomena and serves only to retard the application of scientific method to the social sciences. It insists upon the use of opinion and *a priori* judgments because there the field is open and unrestricted by concrete facts.

But sociology can never realize its objectives and reach the prestige and respect enjoyed by the physical sciences unless it abandons opinion wherever possible and substitutes in its stead scientifically determined results. And this can be accomplished only by the use of quantitative data because scientific method demands units which can be measured, counted, and compared.

All social phenomena have a physical basis and therefore can be expressed quantitatively provided ways and means of recording social processes are invented.

Social activities, from whence social phenomena arise, manifest themselves in the two fields of the material or physical and the immaterial or psychic phenomena. That is, social behavior has both a physical extension and a psycho-social extension in the form of behavior patterns. The physical or material patterns in the form of our material mores lend themselves to quantitative analysis much more readily than do the psycho-social because they are more tangible and concrete. In them the units already exist in the form of one of these physical behavior patterns. In most of the immaterial mores or more psychic behavior patterns units do not exist in such form, at least, as to be classified and counted.

In view of the above it is easily seen that the development of sociology as a science of social phenomena would

proceed more rapidly towards a scientific method in the field of the material mores than it would in this field of the immaterial. In fact, the same phenomenon is witnessed here as is found in the evolution of society, and, of course, for the same reason. Both Chapin² and Ogburn³ have demonstrated how, in the evolution of culture, the material developments take place at a more rapid rate than do the secondary or immaterial. This produces what is called a "cultural lag" in the secondary mores. We have this same phenomenon in the development of scientific method in sociology. Quantitative studies of the material mores are far more numerous and exact than are those of the secondary mores. The line of cleavage is so well defined, in fact, that it is possible to view the two phases separately and comprehend the position which each is taking in the general process. It must not be thought, however, that these two phases are separate and independent of each other. In the last analysis just the opposite is the case. They are the same process proceeding with different rates of development between their parts.

It has been said that the development of knowledge is from the simple to the complex and from the concrete to the abstract. In the development of the sciences, including sociology, this is but partly true. Animism, and later metaphysics and scholasticism, filled the world with all sorts of abstractions. From these, by a gradual process of differentiation, the present sciences developed, first, by becoming concrete, and later, by a process of induction and deduction, reducing the relationships between phenomena to an abstract statement of laws, principles, or formulae. The movement, therefore, for scientific development seems to be from the abstract to the concrete, and from the con-

² F. S. Chapin, *Cultural Change*, pp. 316 f.

³ W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change*, pp. 200 f.

crete to the symbolized. Physics and chemistry, and to a certain extent the biological sciences, have already reached this stage. Sociology also has developed greater objectivity with the use of scientific method and has been approaching quantitative expression through the use of counting and classifying technics.

Naturally this movement would begin first in those phases of social science which were most easily reduced to quantitative terms. These would be the fields where there already existed a standardized unit such as the individual, the dollar, a birth, a death, a marriage, a vote, and so on. The next step then would be into those fields of social process which are more intangible, such as the general behavior patterns of mobility, attitudes, social distance, social forces, the trends and rates of movement of social processes, and the like. For these norms and standard units of measurement must first be devised.

The great task before sociologists of today is to further the use of scientific method in sociology by discovering technics of quantitative measurement of social phenomena. So long as opinion is accepted for fact no matter how authoritative or how great the prestige of the one advancing it social science cannot be expected to advance beyond the stage of rationalization and subjective judgment.

The social engineer should occupy the same position with reference to social science that the electrical or chemical engineer does in the field of the physical sciences. This will come when social phenomena are measured in quantitative terms and scientific method substituted for opinion.

PROBLEMS OF COSMOPOLITAN CLUBS¹

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MODERN university life gathers together people from many parts of the world, bringing together different and often conflicting cultural traits. A number of persons in every university are attempting to help dissolve the conflicts which naturally arise from this unique type of social situation. All who have had a hand in these attempts are aware that there are special problems that call for unusual skill if they are to be solved. This paper aims to describe some of these more or less universal problems prevalent on our university campuses.

THE ORIGINS

The Alpha chapter of Cosmopolitan clubs was organized at the University of Wisconsin in 1903. A Japanese student conceived the idea that there should be some kind of club on the campus which would be international in character, and provide opportunities for social gatherings of both American and foreign students. Other universities felt the need of this type of organization also, and by 1907 there were eight such clubs: Wisconsin International Club, Cornell Cosmopolitan Club, Michigan Cosmopolitan Club, Louisiana State International Club, Ohio State Cosmopolitan Club, Purdue Cosmopolitan Club, Illinois Cosmopolitan Club, and the Chicago International Club.² The Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs of America was organ-

¹ The material for this paper was secured by means of interviews with leaders and members of Cosmopolitan clubs, and questionnaires filled out by a selected number of colleges and universities.

² *Cosmopolitan Annual*, 1909, p. 117.

ized in December of that year by these chapters. During the following year the Association affiliated with the Federation of Students of Europe, better known as *Corda Fratres* (Brothers in Heart). At that time there were 63 such chapters in Europe. According to Dr. S. P. Duggan of the Institute of International Education, there are about thirty cosmopolitan chapters in the various Educational Institutions in the United States at the present time.³

"Above all nations is humanity" is the motto of the Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs. The major object of the Association is "the development in the world the spirit of human justice, cooperation, and brotherhood, and the desire to serve humanity unlimited by color, race, nationality, caste, or creed, by arousing and fostering this spirit in college and university students of all nationalities."⁴ However, the detailed objectives vary in the different institutions according to the leadership and support given by the administrative authorities and faculty members.

The membership is composed mainly of foreign students and a limited number of American students who are interested in foreign students and international relations. Thus, it represents a mixture, as the title implies, of racial and nationality groups with variety in respect to culture, ideals, and social status.

The New York International House has 1500 members, and the Berkeley International House has 400 resident and 200 associate members. The clubs that do not have such elaborate houses, or no houses at all, have a much smaller membership. Replies from seven such clubs reveal that the membership ranged from 20 to 60.

³ *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, Feb., 1932, p. 122.

⁴ Statement by D. L. H. Pammel, President of the Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs in America, in *The Foreign Student in America*. Edited by W. R. Wheeler, H. H. King, and A. B. Davidson; 1905.

PROBLEMS

1. *Prejudices, jealousies, race discrimination.*

A. *Of Americans.* Cosmopolitan clubs have grown in spite of race discrimination and prejudice. Foreign students are seldom admitted to university fraternities and sororities. Sometimes they are not allowed to live in the school dormitories. Consequently, they are often compelled to live in cheap lodging houses.

A Chinese girl of high intellectual and cultural ability, who has a Master's degree and now is teaching in one of the leading universities in China, decided to attend a summer session at one of our leading state universities. She and her cousin spent most of a day searching for a room, and toward evening found one for which she made a deposit of five dollars. She was happy and planned how she would beautify the room with some of her personal treasures. She had her trunk sent up, but the next day, when she arrived to take possession of her room, the landlady met her at the door returning the five dollar deposit and said, "I am sorry, but the students in my house and some of the students in my neighbor's house said that they would leave if I permitted a Chinese girl to live in my house." Late in the afternoon, all alone, she was forced to hunt for another room in a strange city, and it was not until 8 o'clock that evening before she found a landlady who was willing to take a Chinese girl as a roomer.

Not only do foreign students have difficulty in securing desirable living quarters but the people of the community do not admit them to their organizations. In a certain university city the churches, the Y.M.C.A., and the Y.W.C.A. endeavored to cooperate with organizations on the campus to provide opportunities for foreign students to contact American young people and to participate in community life. While it was felt that something should be done for them, some parents feared that their sons and daughters would get too intimate with the cosmopolites. A prominent clergyman stated that such a move would ul-

timately result in race amalgamation, and that he would not want his daughter to marry a Filipino.

Foreign students are busy with their studies and sometimes because of language difficulty they are reluctant to come. Sheer super-sensitiveness may also keep some away. This is especially true when they have been barred from certain activities in the college or university they are attending. Prejudices affect the membership, also. One interviewee said that it took her two years to 'come down to' joining the Cosmopolitan club. When the writer asked her about the 'come down to' attitude, she said, "Well, I didn't know what my friends would think of me, if I joined the Cosmopolitan Club."

Foreign students are not infrequently debarred from the social and literary organizations on the campus. A number of institutions report that there is a serious neglect of the health and play life of the foreign students. Their failure to enter sports is often due to the feeling that they are not wanted. Because of race prejudice and discrimination, and lack of good housing, of supervision of health, of athletic opportunities, and of social contacts, foreign students are handicapped in their educational program. International houses have been established in educational centers, notably in New York City, Berkeley, Chicago, and the the Cite' Universitaire in Paris to meet these needs. It is through the interest, international-mindedness, and generosity of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. that these houses have been made possible. The buildings are used as residential and social centers for Foreign and American students, without discrimination as to race, color, sex, or religion, to the end that mutual understanding may be created through fellowship.

For those students who come from other countries, International House offers not only comfortable living quarters at a reasonable

cost, but an especially happy opportunity of association with American students and the members of an American community. For an American, residence in International House means the privilege of meeting and knowing the many student representatives of other races and nationalities.⁵

However, we can hardly say that Cosmopolitan clubs are International houses, for the former are not housed in beautiful buildings and seldom provide living quarters, but offer opportunities for association of students from various countries.

A cosmopolite is one who is free from local prejudice or affection. He has a disregard for national or local peculiarities and attachments. He has no special interest in any one nation. Theoretically, the members of a Cosmopolitan club have international interests and are relatively free from race or national prejudices. Such, however, is not always the case. Sometimes, there is not only prejudice between racial or nationality groups but between members within these groups. Frequently it is personal jealousy.

B. *Between foreign groups.* Inter-group prejudices and conflicts occasionally arise, as is illustrated by the following cases:

A Cosmopolitan club at one of the universities planned an international night and the different national groups were asked to submit their respective programs. The program committee allotted time in proportion to the nature of their programs. The Chinese were given twenty minutes and the Japanese only ten minutes. When the Japanese students heard about this, they refused to perform unless they could be given twenty minutes also.

At an International dance Chinese young men asked American girls for a dance. The girls refused but accepted the invitations of Filipino young men. The Chinese students strongly resented the discrimination.

⁵ Information Leaflet, International House, Berkeley, p. 3

A Chinese girl asked a Korean girl friend to go to Cosmopolitan club. "Ask me to go somewhere else with you, I don't want to see those Japanese girls' faces," was the reply.

Race friction may occur between many different types of groups, depending upon local situations. The writer has observed opposition directed against Negroes by all other groups, against white Americans by all others, against Filipinos by Chinese and Japanese, and between Chinese and Japanese.

C. *Within each specific group.* Intra-group conflicts likewise occur, taking the form of personal jealousy and opposition.

Several Hindu students refused to perform their part of a program sponsored by a Cosmopolitan club because one of their number was given special recognition due to his supposed membership and status in a high caste in India. A compromise was made by allowing him to march in a procession but not giving him a place on the program.

Jealousy, of course, is not peculiar to Cosmopolitan clubs but may occur in any group. However, social stratification in the mother country may manifest itself in personal conflict between representatives of that country in American colleges and universities.

It is not always race prejudice and snobbishness but sheer indifference that creates difficulty in Cosmopolitan clubs. Many American students do not realize the opportunities afforded by such clubs to make inter-racial contacts and to study national cultures through personal contacts with the representatives of the various groups. Foreign students often are indifferent because they feel that they do not contact the best American students in such clubs or because they do not care to contact other foreign students. Then, too, students lose interest because of the unattractiveness of programs presented by other than their

own racial and nationality groups. They prefer mingling with their own people.

2. *Indefinite objectives.* In the universities and colleges where they have no International houses, the objectives of the Cosmopolitan clubs are more or less restricted. Some organizations have no definite objectives. One interviewee stated that the Cosmopolitan club (referring to a local club) has no specific purpose. Another felt that the club should concentrate its activities in assisting students to become familiar with the university life and interpret the university to the new students, which his club failed to do. Others said that the programs are perfunctory and that the club does not provide opportunities to meet the type of people they would like to contact, such as leaders of various organizations. Often the aims and objectives are undefined and for the most part are not dynamic, yet such clubs as are found in Occidental College and Pomona College have very definite objectives. American students are brought into membership who are qualified to meet the foreign students more than half way. The administration gives the club a very prominent place on the campus. Both institutions carry on serious educational programs, attempting to promote a better understanding of international relations.

3. *Unrepresentative membership.*

A. *Of students.* Unfortunately many clubs do not attract a large number of the best type of students, either foreign or American. They frequently attract those who are ineligible for membership in fraternities, sororities, honor societies, literary and social clubs. Some of the foreign students, especially those who have come from the better types of homes and social circles, feel that they lose status by joining a club that is primarily for those who do not have status elsewhere. One of the leaders of the club

at Berkeley made it a point to invite prominent students, such as the editor of the daily press, student body president, etc., as special guests to their regular Cosmopolitan club meetings. This gave the members an opportunity to meet some of the leaders and it gave the leaders a chance to catch the vision of the worthwhileness of such an organization.

In a number of the clubs there is a conspicuous absence of certain racial or nationality groups. The clubs after all become exclusive. While no groups are deliberately so, prejudices and antagonisms enter to exclude certain groups. In several of the clubs studied no Negroes are members, although in one of the clubs they did belong when it was first organized. One aggressive Negro wanted to become president, but was defeated at the election. When it was felt that Negroes could not hold office the entire group withdrew. Then, too, colored students regard themselves as Americans and why should they belong to a club which they believe is designed for foreigners.

Many Europeans do not attend or belong. When an Oriental was asked the reason for the absence of Europeans he replied, "Oh, don't you know? They think the club is for foreigners and they do not class themselves as such." This same attitude holds true for certain second generation Chinese and Japanese.

B. Of faculty. There is a noticeable absence of faculty members. The reason for this probably varies with the different individuals. Most of them have a heavy teaching schedule and the Cosmopolitan club activities would be just another activity that would crowd their already overloaded program. Others are not interested because they do not have the approach of the study of races through ethnological and anthropological channels. However, some have taken an active part in the club's activities, but have

lost interest because of discouraging experiences they encountered. Faculty members should be among the most valuable assets of the club, furnishing the necessary element of permanence, by giving freely of their time and wise counsel, and by contributing much to the social life of the foreign students.

4. *Domination by cliques.* Domination by cliques or certain racial and nationality groups has been known to be prevalent; which may also affect the membership. Occasionally, the American students not only dominate the club but assume a patronizing attitude toward foreigners. These and other factors have been responsible for both the types of students who are members and the size of the clubs. It must be remembered that the very nature of the club makes it difficult to have a good *esprit de corps* and a harmonious organization. People congregate in groups along the lines of interest and congeniality. The members of Cosmopolitan clubs do not always have like interests and are not necessarily congenial. In addition to the cosmopolitan character of the membership, the turnover is rapid, since students only remain a few years in a college or university.

5. *Inadequate leadership.* The most important and yet the most difficult problem is to secure competent leadership. A leader must have a dynamic personality, be optimistic and enthusiastic, be tactful and courteous, understand the temperament and culture of the various types of members, have a kindly feeling toward all groups regardless of color, religion, or political affiliation, and also be capable of directing the activities. Then, too, the nature and function of the Cosmopolitan clubs must be clearly understood by the leaders. Sometimes students are elected as officers who do not understand the purpose of the organization, and others are not particularly interested. One

officer remarked, "I do not know why I was elected secretary, I am not particularly interested. I suppose it was because I happened to attend a few of the meetings."

The qualifications of the leaders are not the only factors to be considered. Leadership must be representative of the various racial and nationality groups. American students in several of the clubs have become impatient with the methods used by the foreign students and have supported officers from their own group, assuming the superiority of their (American) leadership. Some of the Americans reported that while the foreign students are courteous, they work too slowly and their training is not particularly adapted to leadership. The language difficulty also handicaps some. On the other hand, others feel that foreign students are capable, know parliamentary rules and procedures, understand the needs of the majority of the members, and carry out a program suited to their needs. Several of the foreign students have criticized the leadership of some of the American students as too domineering, lacking in understanding of the needs and feelings of the foreign students, and as not being genuine in interest. "They do not practice what they preach," one interviewee remarked. Occasionally poor judgment or unwise remarks handicaps an otherwise promising leader. If American students are officers, they should have the type of intellectual and cultural ability as found among the highest type of foreign students.

Faculty leadership is also a problem. Some claim that they find it difficult to interest faculty members in the organization. Those who are interested may assume too much authority and dominate the policies and leadership of the club. Furthermore, college and university officials and faculty members have been known to assume a hostile attitude and have thwarted the interest and activities. This

affects spontaneity, freedom, enthusiasm, and status of the club. Some of the students expressed the belief that they prefer not to have faculty leadership. They desire to manage their own affairs.

It is difficult to maintain continuity due to the continuous changing of the membership. Each semester some leave while others begin their school career. A paid secretary, or a board of directors, with election of a portion of its members yearly, or an affiliation with the Young Men's and the Young Women's Christian Associations have been suggested to assure continuity of control and promotion.

6. *Incomplete set-up.*

A. *In activities.* A list of activities as gleaned from answers to questionnaires and from interviews, includes the following: luncheons, Sunday evening suppers, teas, dances, parties, lectures, talks by outstanding visitors, discussion groups pertaining particularly to international problems, and international nights featuring racial and nationalistic characteristics. In many of the clubs only a few of these activities are featured, and only a limited number have intensive programs covering a wide range of activities.

Several of the interviewees contended that they lost interest in the club because the organization had nothing to do. The programs lacked the dynamic quality. There was no enthusiasm. Some complained that the luncheon meetings were too hurried and formal. The culture programs featuring various nationalities presenting some phases of their culture are somewhat spectacular but are not successful if continued throughout the year. Many foreign students feel that they have not come to display their culture but to learn about American culture. Discussions of topics on international relations, form of government in the different countries, habits and customs of

people, movements to improve conditions and social trends create greater interest.

A few years ago, the Federation of Cosmopolitan Clubs of Southern California arranged for foreign students to speak to the various clubs and churches. A number of the organizations became so enthusiastic that they besieged students with more requests to speak at their meetings than they could accept. The service and benefit derived from this plan, however, was far reaching because it gave the members of the organizations an opportunity to meet young people from other lands who possess enthusiasm, ability, and charm. It also gave the students from abroad an opportunity to contact the better class of American citizens and thus gain a better understanding of our culture. Besides, it helped them to forget some of their unhappy experiences which they had encountered in our country.

B. *In facilities.* With the exception of the clubs housed in special international buildings, most of the organizations have no special headquarters. They meet in university buildings, lunch rooms, or in private homes. Most of the clubs do not have attractive meeting places. An attractive and dignified meeting place, with facilities for parties, teas, receptions, as well as lectures and discussions is essential to a successful program. Some of the clubs occasionally meet in faculty homes, and when they do the attendance is much larger. A foreign student said, "I have always wished to look inside of a real American family life, and we appreciate the opportunity of being in the home of one of our professors."

C. *In finances.* International houses are usually endowed to cover a portion of the expense. Cosmopolitan clubs are not so fortunate and must be supported otherwise. Generally, their money is derived from dues and membership fees. Universities and colleges as a rule do not assist the clubs financially.

CONCLUSIONS

Cosmopolitan clubs have significant possibilities. Foreign students represent the "cream" of their respective races and countries. Their potentialities are not fully utilized in the regular university program and in the various campus organizations. Through the Cosmopolitan clubs their talents may be discovered, leadership abilities developed, and they may be given opportunities to represent their respective countries not only on the campus but in the community as well.

Certain educators believe that this type of organization has an advantage over the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A., and other church organizations, because it is without denominational or religious affiliation.

The chief problems are due to race prejudice and discrimination, lack of well integrated and understood objectives, unequal representation of the various racial and nationality groups, lack of sympathetic and competent leaders, and adequate programs and equipment. The fact that Cosmopolitan clubs have not as yet, except in a few instances, aroused and maintained the interest and support necessary to make them a vital force in university life, does not imply that such clubs should be neglected. The very nature of such an organization is invaluable in contributing to a better understanding of life in America and of the world at large.

Book Notes

SOCIAL PATHOLOGY. By GEORGE B. MANGOLD. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1932, pp. xxvii+736.

A general book on social pathology covering the important social problems of today has been needed for some time. Many colleges and universities offer one or more courses in this field and need a general textbook dealing with the major phases of applied sociology. Considering the difficulties of such an undertaking, the author has succeeded in selecting typical factual material illustrating the essential aspects of the situations under consideration. He has attempted to present "selected material from the field of social pathology and to consider it in the light of the sociological and economic principles that shape and transform human conduct." While the presentation of the material has been largely objective, the interpretation is with a view of suggesting ways and means of social improvement. The treatment throughout is characterized by a frank statement of social conditions and a critical evaluation of current social movements.

The book begins with a consideration of the motives and goals of social welfare activities, followed by a concrete treatment of wealth and its distribution; poverty and its abolition; the treatment of dependent families, the dependent and neglected children, the aged, those affected by accidents, child labor, unemployment, the physically handicapped, the sick, the feeble-minded, and the various underlying problems; crime, its treatment and prevention, and delinquency; standards of living, and the family; immigration, race relations and improvement; social legislation; and with a final chapter on "A Forward Look." The various chapters contain material pertaining to the extent of the problems, causes, historical and present methods of treatment, and preventive efforts. Questions for additional study and special references are appended to each chapter. While a wide range of topics are covered, the entire volume is replete with the latest statistical and other data.

M. H. N.

SOCIAL AIMS IN A CHANGING WORLD. By WALTER GREENWOOD BEACH. Stanford University Press, Stanford University, 1932, pp. ix+165.

This small volume is big with a message both broad and deep. In an admirably direct and lucid manner Professor Beach contributes here a worthy part to that vast overhauling and debunking which,

there is some ground to hope, may eventually bring something more nobly human out of that sordid agglomeration of material things and self-seeking motives which is called civilization. It is true that many voices are lifted up in question or criticism concerning it nowadays, but there cannot be too many, since the finest thing in the world would be to make it unanimous. But Professor Beach does not constitute just one more. His work is noteworthy because it blends fine sociological ability, bold idealism, and a calm, just, and dispassionate spirit. To a very unusual degree his pages, from start to finish, shed vastly more light than heat. Yet the present reviewer has not seen the present economic and social (dis)order laid open with more mercilessly searching hands.

On page thirty-two the fountain-head of our social failure is clearly stated: "That is, the idea of 'society'—the associated community life and its social patterns—has had little or no recognition or understanding. Instead, law has been based upon the thought of 'individuals in conflict', and nature as the object of the individual struggle." This text does not become merely "a point of departure" for Professor Beach, but quite the contrary. Nor is it merely reiterated from time to time. The several chapters are themselves vital expressions of it, stating in more restricted and concrete form the general thesis.

Especially good is Chapter One, on "Broken Loyalties, the Migratory Mind, and Community Integration." The author hopes that there is some movement already toward "new community possibilities, new standards, and ultimately a new social culture of unified behavior, sentiments, and beliefs expressing an increase of rational organization toward common ends" (p. 24). In Chapter Two it is shown that opportunity is not, as often assumed, "some aspect or fact of nature," but the creation of community organization. The succeeding chapters unfold this theme as illustrated in Immigrant Assimilation and Community; Labor and Childhood; Charity versus Community Rebuilding; War, Survival, and Human Welfare; The Social Basis of the Measurement of Men; Religion and Social Purpose. The closing chapter, on "This Changing World," sums up the argument, which is that "the greater the knowledge of mankind and its material utilization of nature the greater become the need that knowledge and its results shall be directed to the services of this common life," which is the essence of communities. C. M. C.

THE SOCIAL WORKER IN CHILD CARE AND PROTECTION. By MARGARETTA WILLIAMSON. Harper and Brothers, New York and London, 1931, pp. 485.

This book is an excellent piece of job analysis. It includes such fields as child-placing, day nursery care, children's institutions, and children's protective work. Various type positions were studied and an elaborate analysis made of their functions and service. A special feature is made of the "visitor" in a children's aid organization. The account gives the student an excellent view of the problems, tasks, and daily duties of such a visitor. Among the many other positions described are "executive" in each of the child welfare fields considered. The training, experience, and salaries of the workers in the various positions are likewise studied. Excellent forms are presented in the appendix. The book should be very useful in courses dealing with the various aspects of child welfare work. G. B. M.

THE EDUCATION OF ADULT PRISONERS. By AUSTIN H. McCORMICK. The National Society of Penal Information, pp. xxii+456.

The writer of this book visited nearly all of the federal and state penitentiaries and studied the educational programs of these institutions. In view of the meager education and the low mentality of a large proportion of the prisoners it appears that an effective program of individual education is necessary. The writer, however, finds that there is but little educational work to praise and therefore gives much attention to the constructive suggestions for the improvement of such work. Of the fundamental subjects, he regards English as of the greatest importance. Vocational education is likewise very necessary and should be more effectively provided. However, this must not be considered a substitute for training in behavior habits. Emphasis is also given to the prison library as an important educational agency. Proper attention should be given to health, cultural and social education. "The number of persons who are definitely antisocial in their attitude is very much smaller than is generally supposed by the layman." Nevertheless, training in socialization is very necessary. A system of inmate community organization guided by a competent warden would meet a real need of the prisoners.

A chapter is devoted to the education of men in reformatories, and a similar chapter to the education of women prisoners. The appendix lists a great variety of books, pamphlets, and other publications useful to prison schools. G. B. M.

WORK AND WEALTH. By ROY DICKINSON. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1931, pp. viii+158.

If I were a workers' leader, I should see to it, somehow or other, that every employer of men in the United States would receive this short and sprightly discourse on wages. For there are ideas in it which should be absorbed into the minds of certain leaders of our industrial system for the future welfare of that system. Some pertinent evidence of this lies in the following disclosures of the author:

In 1921, without any permanent horizontal reduction in wages, but with a great increase in money wages paid, our country entered upon a great period of prosperity. Now, a group of bankers and industrialists are stating that we cannot get back to prosperity unless we cut wages.

In 1921, recommendations were made for a complete system of unemployment agencies in the various states under Federal supervision. But when times got better, this and other plans were forgotten.

The "overspending" year of 1929, a year of exceptional industrial profits, showed a percentage of wages to production values less than for any year since 1909.

In 1921, the United States Steel Corporation made three consecutive wage decreases, but maintained its dividend.

Mr. Dickinson, in pursuance of his inquiry, reveals that a few advanced industrial concerns have had enough foresight to provide for the human factor in times of depression. The leaders of these have gone about independently in their efforts to provide stable security for the workers who aid them in producing. These men have given their experiences to Mr. Dickinson, and it is the narrative of these which constitutes a chief element of value to the book. Plans for unemployment insurance, bad time funds, dismissal wages, and old age pensions are noted as effective devices for smothering the effects of periods of pessimism. The volume is a helpful and necessary catechism for the employer who desires to be a help-mate to his employees.

M. J. V.

THE SALES TAX IN FRANCE. By CARL S. SHOUP. Columbia University Press, 1930, pp. xv+369.

The general sales tax, or turnover tax, as it is often called, in its functioning in France from 1920 to 1929, is carefully analyzed in this book. The author shows how the general tax of 2 per cent on sales has brought in considerable tax money and how it has been subject to so much evasion and difficulty in collecting that it cannot be recommended as a superior form of taxation.

THE SUCCESS OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN. By V. M. Molotov.
International Publishers, New York, 1931, pp. 77.

Molotov is chairman of the Council of Peoples' Commissars of the U. S. S. R., and here we have the full text of his report on the activity of the Government of the Soviet Union, delivered at the Sixth All-Union Soviet Congress held at Moscow in March, 1931. Under the subject of the international and inner situation of the Soviet Union, he deals, among other things, with the "Soviet dumping" campaign, "forced labor," and the relation of the Soviet Union to the capitalist countries. Regarding the Five-Year Plan and the building of Socialism, he is very enthusiastic. He seems to believe that the five-year plan might be accomplished in four years if not sooner, especially in the key industries, but experiences during the year since his report would no doubt qualify his statements. He recognizes that the central task for the success of the Plan is the mastery of technique. This little book is useful for an insight into the optimistic psychology of the Soviet leaders.

J. E. N.

THE RURAL COMMUNITY. A NATURAL HISTORY OF A SOCIOLOGICAL GROUP. By DWIGHT SANDERSON. Ginn and Company, 1932, pp. xvii+723.

The rural community is used as a sociological group with a view of analyzing the "forces and principles which influence the formation, persistence, and decline of various types of rural locality groups." It represents a comparative study of both historical and present day rural communities as found in many lands. The term "rural community" is given a dual usage, covering all types of rural locality groups which are considered generically, and the more restricted modern locality groups with dispersed homesteads and a village center as found in our own country. Although seemingly diverse and unrelated communities of different periods and regions are compared, nevertheless it represents a natural history of rural localities from the early days of hunting tribes to the modern rural community life in the United States. Local life has disintegrated, yet the author believes that the "physical, economic, psychological, and social forces are all bringing about the integration of the rural community around a common center of the interests of those living within an area which can support the institutions desired." The problem of the community is to adapt its organization and mode of life to a changing environment.

M. H. N.

CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGY. By EMORY S. BOGARDUS. University of Southern California Press, Los Angeles, 1931, pp. 483.

In this substantial and attractively bound book Professor Bogardus presents "a companion volume to *A History of Social Thought*," but it amounts to more than that. To be sure, it does continue the history of sociological thinking down to the minute, as it were, and in that respect it is really a projection of the earlier work mentioned. But the present volume is so systematically arranged and so comprehensive in scope that it constitutes an excellent textbook in sociological fundamentals in itself. At the same time it is essentially a *source book* in current sociology.

After an opening chapter on "Tools in Sociology," dealing with the nature and use of concepts in science, and in sociology in particular, the author presents the selections under eight large groups, each constituting a chapter whose title represents, in each case, the more inclusive concept. These deal with the ecological, cultural, societal, and personal concepts; those of social organization, social change, and social research. Under these more comprehensive concepts are grouped, in logical order, a rich array of fifty subsidiary concepts which, taken as a whole, will impress upon anyone the progress being made by contemporary sociology in the conceptual analysis of social phenomena in and of themselves. This book would be especially good for those critics of sociology whose principal contribution is often to disclose, quite unwittingly, their almost total ignorance of the scientific work that has been accomplished since their own first and only introduction to the subject began.

It is obviously inadvisable to attempt a critical assaying of this book, since it would necessarily turn into a critique on American sociology at large, and that within the scanty compass of a brief review. Dr. Bogardus has prefaced each chapter with interpretive remarks, and has supplied valuable lists of readings for further consideration. The book does not profess to be exhaustive, but simply more or less representative of the trends selected as most prominent and significant in current sociology in this country. As such it is distinctly informing, and lends itself to class-room purposes in a very helpful and stimulating way. This is done with the aid of many voices, but all of them are marshalled under the very carefully chosen and logically arranged captions which express the actual consensus and practice of those working in this field. The result is a real contribution to the literature of the subject. C.M.C.

PROBLEMS OF CITY LIFE. A STUDY IN URBAN SOCIOLOGY. By MAURICE R. DAVIE. John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1932, pp. xxi+730.

This penetrating study of modern city life is a valuable contribution to urban sociology. While the book deals with social problems it does not have a pathological flavor. The author adheres closely to dependable data, describes conditions as they are, and refrains from extensive theorizing. It is not a preachment of what should be but rather a description of what has been accomplished in meeting conditions of need. The many details are ably synthesized and interestingly written, with ample footnotes showing sources of information.

The treatment is divided into five parts, beginning with the modern city, particularly the causes and consequences of its growth, which is followed by a discussion of four major social problems, namely, housing, health, education, and recreation. Each section is replete with concrete material. The objective aspects of these problems are dealt with rather than social processes, personality elements, and socio-psychological factors. In fact, the major portion of the book deals with environmental features. A central theme running throughout the book is adaptation to environment, especially the physical aspects of the urban situation.

M. H. N.

SOCIAL POLITICS AND MODERN DEMOCRACIES, Volumes I and II. By CHARLES W. PIPKIN. The Macmillan Company, 1931, pp. xxxiv+375; and viii+417.

In this set of books the author presents a very thorough discussion of the movement for industrial and social legislation in England and France. Volume I treats the development in England and Volume II the movement in France.

After giving the background of the English social movement, the writer outlines the various factory acts, the housing and town-planning acts, the minimum wage laws, conciliation acts, and the various forms of social insurance such as old age pensions, workmen's compensation and unemployment insurance. Several chapters deal largely with the British labor movement. There has been steady progress in the direction of national standards of life. To reach them the old "laissez faire" system had to be abandoned. In England, as in this country, voices from the tomb cried out against the drift from the devastating individualism of the former day toward the acceptance of common responsibility for general welfare. Although

unemployment insurance is recognized as definitely necessary to meet certain needs, it is not regarded as a solution for the problem of unemployment.

The movement in France must be traced from the time of the first Revolution. However, the greatest developments occurred later than similar movements in England. A great variety of laws dealing with conditions of work and with the rights of labor organizations have been enacted. A national insurance system has gradually been accepted. The old age pension law was passed in 1910, but a comprehensive national insurance act was not passed until 1930. This law provides for the compulsory insurance of all wage-earners against sickness, childbirth, invalidity, old age and death. Unemployment insurance is not included. The law is estimated to apply to 8,500,000 workers and also covers the families of the insured persons. Revolutionary syndicalism has been a force of considerable power.

In his final chapter the author says that the fear of concentrating social authority is declining in both France and England; also that the energetic interference of government in the control of industrial relations has weakened neither the organized labor movement nor frightened combines of capital into inactivity. In their efforts to maintain a rising standard of living, these nations have also made increasing use of the machinery of conference and consultation that is provided by the League of Nations and the International Labor Office. They are helping to create for the whole world ideals of freedom.

G. B. M.

TAXATION OF INCOME IN INDIA. By V. K. R. V. RAO. Longmans, Green and Company, Ltd., New York, Calcutta, London, 1931, pp. xvi+327.

The author analyzes and compares the taxation of India, especially the income tax, with principles and practices observed in other countries. The work includes the history of taxation in India, but the main portion is analytical. One of the more interesting subjects is that of double taxation. For the sociologist it is of course pertinent to observe how India's tax system has been molded according to her unique social problems. The author, however, advocates tax reforms along lines that are regarded as universally sound and expedient. He hopes, and reasonably so in view of this brilliant study, that unfair discrimination may be eliminated and that taxes in India may soon be levied according to the ability to pay. He has, of course, duly considered national benefit and the larger interests of the country.

J. E. N.

THE CASE AGAINST BIRTH CONTROL. By E. ROBERTS MOORE.
The Century Company, New York, 1932, pp. x+311.

This treatise assumes importance mainly because it represents the official Roman Catholic attitude toward the practice of contraception. The author is the chairman of the committee on population decline and related problems of the National Conference of Catholic Charities. The reader is introduced to the Catholic point of view by Cardinal Patrick Hayes of New York who holds with Pius XI that: "Any use whatsoever of matrimony exercised in such a way that the act is deliberately frustrated in its natural power to generate life is an offense against the law of God and nature, and those who indulge in such are branded with the guilt of a grave sin." Aside from this already well-known religious argument, the author has marshalled such medical evidence as would seem to point to the physical danger attendant upon the injudicious use of contraceptives, the possibilities of the incurrence of sterility, and the social consequences of a neurological and psychiatric nature on the family without children. The case against birth control rests largely upon the assumption that it is unnatural. But free thought and common sense would seem to indicate that the birth control advocates have the better side of the argument, inasmuch as natural laws are being continually interfered with by man whenever they seem to impede what he chooses to call his social progress. Indeed, one might say then that when disease is natural, it should not be interfered with. If carried to its logical consequences, the argument becomes little short of being absurd and ridiculous. However, the book is interestingly presented, and one should know both sides of an important and vital question.

M. J. V.

MARKETS BY INCOME: A Study of the Relation of Income to Retail Purchases in Appleton, Wisconsin. Two volumes. Time Incorporated, New York, 1932, VolI, pp. 77.

This is a statistical study of 1,500,000 retail purchases made in Appleton, Wisconsin, correlated with state income tax reports. Appleton is believed to be a representative "normal" city without extremes of wealth or poverty. The tabulations are intended to provide the national advertiser with a yardstick by which to measure his available market in each income level. The survey offers social scientists much valuable basic data. Unfortunately for the scientist the data is organized wholly from the advertiser's point of view. The graphic work is notably good.

E. F. Y.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN ENGLAND: A Study in Law Administration. By PENDELTON HOWARD. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1931, pp. xv+436.

England has an enviable reputation from the American point of view in the matter of dealing with crime. Those who wish to "follow through" on the present interest in crime and criminals will find in this volume a thoroughgoing scholarly presentation of current English problems, methods and points of view in the administration of criminal justice. How much of what is good in their methods can be utilized in America is, of course, a moot question. The author has performed a real service in giving a clear picture of English practice with due regard to history, tradition, and other conditioning factors which will enable American students and reforms to choose wisely in developing criminal law procedure. E. F. Y.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS. THE AMERICAN ATTITUDE. By KEITH CLARK. Columbia University Press, New York, 1931, pp. 261.

The author relates systematically the development of international communications by means of the post, the telegraph, the submarine cables, and more recent, the radio. Thus there are surveyed the numerous international conferences, conventions, regulations, methods for settling disputes, legislation, finance, war and peace measures, et cetera, as involved in international communication. After dealing with each form of communication as of universal or international interest, there is a separate presentation of the American attitude from historical, diplomatic, international, and the national legislative angle. The subject is epic in sweep, and a real contribution. J. E. N.

ENVIRONMENTAL BASIS OF SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY. By C. C. HUNTINGTON and FRED A. CARLSON. Prentice Hall, Inc., New York, 1931, pp. xxix+509.

"Geography is a dynamic science" is the claim made in the opening passage, and if this book be any criterion, the claim is a just one. Never do the authors become so involved in pure technical geography that they lose sight of the human factor—the continual interaction of man and environment is repeatedly stressed.

The book is well organized and comprehensive; possibly at times comprehensive to the extent of being sketchy. On the whole it is geography dignified, socialized. G. D. N.

THE TECHNIQUE OF SOCIAL PROGRESS. By **HORNELL HART.**
Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1931, pp. xv+708.

As a basic definition in this book, progress consists in "those biological and cultural changes which on the whole and in the long run release, stimulate, facilitate and integrate human functioning." Furthermore, progress must involve the promotion of human values. The book is rich in data regarding racial, cultural, and technological progress, topics such as the accelerating increase of man's power to produce and enjoy beauty, the ethical and social effects of religion, science, the family, and other institutions. In the view of the author, the rate of progress "depends upon the abundance of cultural alternatives presented, the insight of those who make the choices, and the placing of the power of choice in the hands of those who will use it for the general good." Professor Hart has here given us a sound, enlightening, and very interesting treatment of the concept progress, drawing upon a large field for his materials, but ever mindful of the definitions quoted. It is well organized for text purposes. J. E. N.

ASPECTS OF THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF AMERICA. By
THEODORE SIZER, ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, DIXON RYAN FOX,
and **HENRY SEIDEL CANBY.** The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1931, pp. 120.

This book contains four essays given as Mary Tuttle Bourdon lectures at Mount Holyoke College. They commemorate the tercentenary of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and in very engaging manner they show various aspects of the development of Massachusetts and eastern sections of America during three hundred years. Thus the lectures look back over American art, the American Revolution, contrast our life and institutions with those of our ancestors, and the fourth lecture, "Thoreau and the Machine Age," gives the significance of the aristocracy of New England individualists for the modern machine age. The reader gains in his evaluations and perspectives of American social history while reading this delightful volume. J. E. N.

RACE RELATIONS AT CLOSE RANGE. By **LAWRENCE W. NEFF.**
Banner Press, Emory University, Georgia, 1931, pp. 35.

"Watching the Negro Problem Settle Itself," is the subtitle of this booklet in which the natural course of events is traced through three levels of thinking about the Negro, namely, exploitation, commiseration, and emancipation.

International Notes

Edited by JOHN ERIC NORDSKOG

BRUENING'S GOVERNMENT fell because he lacked support from Great Britain, France, and the United States in so far as his international policies were concerned, as well as because of Germany's internal problems or disorder. President von Hindenburg could no longer count on Bruening's policies to avert civil conflict in Germany. Bruening is one of the best liked men in Europe, one of the most trusted; he is courageous and exceptionally experienced. But a leader cannot work alone; without followers, Bruening's service to Germany as well as to Europe becomes nil. Bruening has been declaring for several weeks that Germany cannot pay more reparations, and his program, including higher taxation, did not receive the president's approval. But it seems as if Bruening's dismissal was necessary particularly as a curb on the nationalists—the Hitlerites. Thus von Hindenburg has appointed as Chancellor, von Papen, a conservative, and the new cabinet is manned by men of similar ilk selected from the former "titled" or noble class. It is patently von Hindenburg's cabinet, appointed and sworn outside of the usual parliamentary process. Since the Reichstag was dissolved, von Hindenburg has practically become a dictator. Of course, Bruening's government was also a dictatorship, but in spirit it was republican, and in principle, pacifist. It also depended upon the support of the army, but Hitlerism has been undermining Bruening's support from both civilians and army. In the new cabinet, von Hindenburg refuses recognition of Hitler or his supporters. Seemingly he challenges Hitler to make good his boasts and threats, since a new election will soon take place. Will the people decide in favor of a Fascist dictatorship of Germany, or a military dictatorship, or another monarchy?—issues of importance to all of the neighboring countries. Meanwhile, von Hindenburg has retreated to his own class for support during his own "dictatorship."

THE MORATORIUM for European debts to the United States ends June 30, and the several countries have been arranging to pay the deferred amounts over a period of ten years, with four per cent interest. Italy reiterates, however, the need for renunciation of rep-

arations and the cancellation of war debts, at the same time maintaining that she will pay to the United States no more than she received from Germany in reparations. The attitude of the United States that disposition of the reparations problem is a matter for Europe alone to decide is nothing to boast about. What should be done is to try to determine whether international good will and improved trade would result from cancellation. If so, and there seems to be reason for belief in such results, the action not only directly involves the United States, but the responsibility should be shared.

France, as expressed in Herriot's new program, says that it is up to America to parallel the generosity of European states in any readjustment of reparations. Of course, France has still to show how generous she will be, since not much of the trait has been manifested thus far. Perhaps some of Bruening's frank declarations are bearing fruit. France now comes forth to favor a suspension of reparations for one or more years "until normal economic conditions return," although economists would scarcely regard any particular conditions as normal. France objects to wiping the slate clean, thus shifting the burden to the creditors, herself as one of them. However, a revision to reduce the sum to be paid by Germany is favored—at the end of the proposed moratorium for reparations. The Young plan itself obviously needs revision because of altered economic conditions. Although this latest proposal from France, or Herriot, goes further than previous ones, still it remains a form of temporizing.

THE REVOLUTION in Chile is as yet indeterminate. Carlos Davila headed a revolutionary junta, overthrew the government of President Montero on June 4, and undertook to establish a Socialist Republic. He planned to nationalize industry, mining, agriculture, to further social legislation and the social operation of all governmental activities. Chile was to be a Socialist, but not a Communist, state. Davila pledged jobs for all, to be financed by taxing the rich, by printing fiat money, or by confiscation of financial resources within the country. However, after one week, Davila resigned because of discord within the new government—presumably because he was too moderate toward foreign interests, of which an outstanding illustration is the American-controlled Cosach Nitrate Combine. A truly radical régime would very likely dissolve such foreign-controlled interests in order to socialize the natural resources of the country, chief of which are nitrate and copper. Davila is an intellectual, a socialist

idealist, but the more radical element of Chile wants another leader. Rolando Merino, Minister of the Interior, has been chosen to fill the place vacated by Davila. Regardless of who is leader, the Chileans will find that a new socialist order is not so easy to get into actual operation. Utopian fashion, the socialists do not realize enough the problems of transition from one social order to another. Taxation may eliminate the rich and vested interests, but that is a mere beginning. If the people have possessed so little liberty and have borne more than their fair share of the burden of taxation in the past, it will take time for them to get adjusted to new conditions. It is said, at least, that the people have lost no liberties in the present gesture for Socialism. The real revolution will be in learning to think and cooperate in terms of the new ideology, if the present junta lasts.

HOSTILITIES IN SHANGHAI have officially ended, and a Sino-Japanese truce has been signed. Japanese soldiers have therefore been evacuating the region about Shanghai. On the heels of such removal, however, it is said that war looms in the Orient, that a conflict over Manchuria is to be fought between Japan and Russia. There are sufficient grounds for one to speculate concerning the real imminence of war between Japan and Russia. There have repeatedly been rumors of warlike preparations by the Soviet, with the latter's threat that they are ready at any time to protect their borders. The Soviet have, of course, found fault with or have refused to accept some of the changes that have been wrought in Manchuria by the Japanese. Japan's hopes for international recognition of the new government in Manchuria, lately called Manchoukuo, have met disappointment. Does such lack of recognition doom Japan's plans to failure? There are less than one million Japanese out of thirty million people in Manchuria, but Japan's claims are not on the basis of resident population. According to the new premier of Japan, Viscount Saito, there is no danger of conflict with Russia. As long as Japan is in the League of Nations, such a course would be contrary to her pledged obligations, but the recent fiasco in China indicates how holy is this Covenant. The ostensible reason for Japanese concentration of troops in Manchuria neighboring the boundaries of Russia is defensive, owing to the fact that Russian troops are in the vicinity. Thus a chip on the shoulder of each party to the potential conflict gives rise to "unfounded rumors" of impending strife. The Premier likes to credit such rumors to American and European criticism, but it is not unfair to say that Japan's policies in the past

would scarcely excuse her from question as to the next move now, when conditions in Manchuria of vital interest to both Japan and Russia remain for settlement. Whether the fear of war in the Orient be based upon rumor or fact, several questions are pertinent: When would either country regard the time opportune for such a conflict? Would Japan alone plan to fight Russia? Or does Japan expect France or other European powers to help her in a struggle against the Soviet? And would the contenders scrap the covenant of the League of Nations?

THE ASSASSINATION of Premier Inukai is one in a series of such incidents in Japan—rather an awful habit of political protest. Whether it was as a protest against the withdrawal of troops from Shanghai, or because the government was not considered nationalistic enough, or action against Inukai's personal views on Japan's policies, cannot be ascertained. Inukai has been a man of peace rather than of war. There has long been a split between the military and civilian elements in the government, as well as a rapidly growing Fascist movement in Japan, and Fascism has ordinarily been highly nationalist everywhere. Inukai was in the way for either Fascist or military ambitions. The Fascists in Japan are both anti-constitutional and anti-capitalist, for both of which Inukai was deemed guilty, and on the other hand, the Fascists regard the military as disinterested patriots who place national above personal interests. Although there have been so many assassinations of governmental, industrial, or financial leaders in Japan, loyalty to the Emperor and the Imperial family is apparently not in question by either faction. No doubt the Emperor functions little in the actual government, as do so many other kings who are contemporary with him.

IN RUSSIA the six-year ban on trading by farmers in cities has been lifted. This has probably been done to increase food supplies, thus to check famine, because the collectivized farms have not provided enough either because of inefficiency, poor quality of products, or crop failure. Contrary as the step is for the communist program of the Soviet, taxes have been reduced in order to encourage trade in produce, and the markets have been granted police protection. Contemporary with such news items are others to the effect that some of the largest manufacturing establishments are far behind the schedule called for by the Five-year plan, and some factories indeed are scarcely operating.

Social Research Notes

Edited by MARTIN H. NEUMEYER

IMMIGRANT TRENDS. The tide of immigrants to the United States, which exceeded the million mark for at least six years since the beginning of the present century, is now not only checked but reversed. During March, 1932, the inward movement consisted of 2,103 immigrants, 9,248 non-immigrants, making a total of 11,351 aliens admitted. In addition, 22,012 United States citizens arrived. The outward movement consisted of 6,239 immigrants and 10,097 non-immigrants. Thus 16,336 aliens departed, which is 4,985 more than the number of aliens admitted during the same year. In addition, 24,718 United States citizens departed. It is also important to note that during the same month 445 aliens were debarred from entering and 2,112 were deported after landing. During the nine months from July 1, 1931 to March 31, 1932, a total of 89,307 more aliens departed than were admitted and 19,768 were either debarred from entering or deported after entering. With the notable exceptions of Italy and Poland, more people returned to their native land than came to our shores. During March, 1932, as many as 2,399 Mexicans emigrated and only 147 came from Mexico.

A further analysis of immigration trends reveals that there is an excess of females over males coming to the United States, as contrasted with an excess of males returning. A large proportion of those leaving are middle aged or elderly persons, whereas quite a large group of children and young people come to this country. The proportion of single, married, widowed, and divorcees returning as over against those admitted are about the same, the ratios for March being nearly three to one. A large number of those admitted had no occupation, being mainly women and children, but a goodly number reported that they were skilled workmen or professional people. Another interesting feature of the inward movement of people is that most of them are either non-immigrants or non-quota immigrants. Of all classes of aliens admitted during March, 1932, some 5,177 were non-immigrants and 5,341 were non-quota immigrants, leaving only 833 quota immigrants.

THE ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL DATA, by Henry J. Burt, a pamphlet published by the Missouri Agriculture Experiment Station (Research Bulletin 155), contains a description of the structure, function, and operation of the Selecto-meter. A new method of analysis of social data has been made possible by the development of a new machine for counting and combining statistical data. "This machine, called the Selecto-meter, facilitates the process of correlation by making it possible to use, on a large scale, the condensed distribution method." It is essentially a counter of combinations. Since the machine can handle combinations, it is possible to make a functional analysis of social behavior instead of the usual numerical analysis. "Combinations of the four factors, sex, age, number of persons in the household, and its distance from the village center are used to show what specific combinations are associated with the respective degrees of a selected form of behavior." A study of 576 cases, which is the amount the machine provides for, revealed that 343 separate combinations of these factors could be made. A table was constructed on the basis of these combinations by means of which behavior of the people could be predicted.

This tabulating machine is quite complicated and one needs to read the entire bulletin to get the full picture of its operation. It consists of two parts—a wooden tabulation surface, and a moving frame which passes back and forth across the face of the tabulation surface. This frame is driven by a motor and moves at the rate of one foot per second. The tabulating surface of the first model is $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet high and 60 feet long on which there are a total of 135,360 holes. Each item of data concerning each case is tabulated by inserting a brass plug in the hole representing that item, which is the equivalent of a hole punched in a Hollerith card. Each case is represented by a column of holes extending from top to bottom of the surface. After the detail data is put on the tabulating surface, a throw of the switch starts the frame across the tabulating surface. Every time a plug representing an item is encountered, the counter records it. The total is obtained after the counter has passed over the entire number of cases. The unique feature of the machine is that several items, or an entire distribution, and a combination of the items, may be counted in a similar manner at the same time. The present machine has ten counters, which makes it possible to count ten items at once, but others may be added. The ability to count combinations permits the finer analysis of conditioning factors in the study of types of behavior. The chief difficulty seems to be the insertion of the plugs.

STUDIES IN CRIME. The Sociological Press has recently published two reports that pertain to crime and its treatment. George B. Vold presents a study of *Prediction Methods and Parole* (1931), which is an analysis of factors involved in the violation or non-violation of parole in a group of Minnesota adult males. Frank Harris reports a study of methods in newspaper research, *Presentation of Crime in Newspapers* (1932), using the Minneapolis dailies as the basis of analysis.

The records of 1192 men (542 State Prison and 650 Reformatory), paroled during the five year period from July 1st, 1922 to June 30th, 1927, were studied by Vold and the outcome on parole was classed under three heads, namely, non-violators, major violators, and minor violators. The methods used by Burgess and Glueck in their studies were applied and tested and with somewhat the same results except that the data were combined into cumulative tables which reveal significant differences between the violators and non-violators. All of these efforts reveal that it is possible to predict the outcome of parole in terms of "chances in 100."

Harris has made two contributions by developing and appraising techniques of newspaper analysis and by applying these methods to a group of data with a view of ascertaining the operation of the selective factor in the presentation of crime news. The crime news of the Minneapolis dailies were divided into *local* and *outside*, and the index of emphasis and the index of front page stress were used as devices of analysis. It was found that the percentages of space allotted for crime news are 4.04, 5.40, and 3.87 for the years 1890, 1904-5 and 1921 respectively. During the same periods, 38.83%, 33.07% and 34.07% of all the crime news are printed on the front page. The bulk of the crime content and front page display pertained to "offenses against the person" and "offenses against property." Murder was the chief space consumer during all three periods, with a high rate of manslaughter during 1890 and 1904-5. Robbery occupied considerable space during 1904-5 and 1921, whereas embezzlement occupied a large space in 1890. Except for a considerable amount of prominence given to rape in 1890, the other crimes consumed little newspaper space and importance. Commercialized vice and liquor are inconsequential as compared with the space given to the other crimes. Local crime news received greater prominence than crime news from the outside, both in front page display and the average size of news stories, but the proportional amounts of inches assigned to each major category usually assumed the same relative position of importance in both local and outside.

Social Drama Notes

M. J. V.

OF THEE I SING. A Musical Play. By GEORGE S. KAUFMAN AND MORRIE RYSKIND. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1932, pp. 214.

Of Thee I Sing, 1932 Pulitzer prize play, produced as a musical comedy, bids fair to win as large a public through the medium of the printed form as it has as a stage production. To the American stage, it has brought a brilliant satirical shaft of light aimed directly at certain phases of political life flourishing in this, our native land. Where argumentation and debate fail to impress the populace with its stupidity and ignorance, it is only fair to hope that ridicule may finally succeed in showing it why it is subjected to dishonorable mention.

The story reveals the process by which John P. Wintergreen is nominated for President, and finally elected on an emotionally built platform of Love. No presidential platform could be preferred on the strength of its appeal to reason. Reason leaves us cold, love makes for warmth. To insure the devotion of the forty-eight states, a beauty contest is inaugurated to provide the new President with a mate who will not disgrace White House soirees. And there is a promise of a wedding for each state! In his final election-eve speech, the candidate shouts, "Citizens, it is up to you! Can you let this glorious romance end unhappily! . . . I put my faith and trust in the American people! Go then to the polls on Tuesday and show the whole world that the United States of America stands first, last, and always for Love!" Are you listening!

Once elected, the new President faces difficulties since he side-tracked the real winner of the beauty contest, a damsel with a real French descent in her past, and France demands reparation. Like all good candidates, President Wintergreen cannot be expected to fulfill election promises! But his astute advisers, informed that he is an expectant father, plan to sell him again to the country on the platform, "Posterity is just around the corner." At any rate the White House is blessed with the arrival of twins, but it becomes necessary to call in the Supreme Court to determine the sex they shall assume. And so are exposed the frailties of the land of the free! Read it and laugh, then think it all over!

News Notes

G. D. N.

A German-English Sociology Journal. The March, 1932 issue of the German sociology journal, *Zeitschrift fuer Voelkerpsychologie*, presented itself in two languages, German and English, under a new title, *Sociologus*. The dual printing was true not only of articles, but of table of contents, special departments, and information pertaining to the journal as well.

This plan of duplication which apparently is to be the regular policy from now on, bids fair to aid greatly in establishing *rapprochement* between German and American sociologists. Particularly will this be true since care is taken to select materials from writers of both countries and since the journal has the prestige of being one of the leading German sociology journals by virtue of its completeness and able editing. The editors are to be congratulated on the manner in which they have expanded their publication to international proportions.

Sociological Monographs. Beginning with the academic year 1932-33, the department of sociology at the University of Michigan will sponsor a monograph series pertinent to research in sociology. The significant features of the plan are that worthy pieces of research too long for magazine articles yet too short for books, will be considered and that it will not be essential that the work shall have been done in connection with a doctor's thesis.

These monographs are to be published in 300-copy editions, and are to be financed by the author who will be reimbursed from the sale of the 300 copies. Dr. Robert C. Angell, and Dr. Lowell J. Carr are to be the editors. The sale of these monographs will be carried out on a subscription basis as well as through the sale of separate copies. Each subscriber will pay a given amount per year for which he will receive monographs at the rate of about one per month.

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH



ARTICLES IN FORTHCOMING ISSUES

(September-October, 1932, and later)

Social Classes in Modern Germany.....	ANDREAS WALTHER
Race Attitudes in the Press.....	NOEL P. GIST
Assimilation Problems of Czechoslovak Immigrants.....	JOSEPH S. ROUCEK
Social Work in Canada.....	CARL A. DAWSON
Social Distance between Catholics, Jews, and Protestants.....	EMORY S. BOGARDUS
Leadership Traits of College Women.....	L. H. MOORE
Measurement of Social Intimacy.....	MAPHEUS SMITH
Education and Negro Attitudes.....	D. D. DROBA
Culture Traits of Tibetans.....	DORRIS SHELTON
The Family Spatial Pattern.....	NORMAN S. HAYNER
A Marriage-Guidance Clinic.....	MEYER F. NIMKOFF
Effect of Distance on News Values.....	LOWELL J. CARR
Folkways and Motorways.....	CLARENCE M. CASE
Predictability of Human Behavior.....	ERNEST W. BURGESS
Social Distance in Victor Hugo.....	RENA V. ALBRIGHT
Present Trends of Unemployment.....	GEORGE B. MANGOLD
Social Life of the Filipinos.....	D. F. GONZALO
Antisocial Aspects of Golf.....	ARTHUR LANGTON
Influence of Drama upon Human Attitudes.....	MELVIN J. VINCENT
Leadership in China.....	HERBERT D. LAMSON
Measuring Social Contacts.....	EMORY S. BOGARDUS
Intra-urban Mobility.....	T. EARL SULLENGER
Social Distance in Russia.....	GEORGE GLEASON

ARTICLES IN PRECEDING ISSUE

(May-June, 1932)

Juvenile Courts in Germany.....	HERBERT FRANCKE
Organizational Personality.....	SAMUEL H. JAMESON
I Become American.....	ANNIE M. MACLEAN
The Communalities.....	BESSIE A. MCCLENAHAN
Legal Status of Filipino Intermarriages.....	NELLIE FOSTER
Program for Second Generation Chinese.....	KIT KING LOUIS
Genetic Sociology.....	H. C. BREARLEY
Tuskegee and Booker T. Washington.....	EMORY S. BOGARDUS